BEST PRACTICES IN TRAFFICKING PREVENTION IN EUROPE & EURASIA

Final Report

January 2009

This report was produced for review by the Social Transition Team, Office of Democracy, Governance, and Social Transition of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID/E&E/DGST). It was prepared under the SOCIAL Task Order of the Advancing Basic Education (ABE-BE) IQC by Creative Associates International, Inc., and the Aguirre Division of JBS International, Inc. Its author is Stephen Warnath, NEXUS Institute.

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Acknowledgements

This study was possible because of the commitment of USAID's Europe and Eurasia Bureau to support research designed to improve responses by the United States and other countries to trafficking in persons. Several individuals at USAID in particular need to be acknowledged. I would like to thank Catherine Cozzarelli of USAID's Europe and Eurasia Bureau for her leadership and support on this research. Before she departed USAID, Ruth Pojman, who now works on the issue of human trafficking for the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, provided material and input for which I am very appreciative. Glenn Rogers is to be commended for having the vision to recognize the importance of investing in research to inform and improve the practices of anti-trafficking work in the region. In the E&E region there are many people working in the USAID missions who care deeply about this issue, and this research reflects their desire to address it more effectively.

Creative Associates International and the Aguirre Division of JBS International, Inc. provided the opportunity to conduct this research. Throughout this process, I received much appreciated support and input from Deepika Chawla and Sylvia Ellison of Creative Associates and Christine Allison of Aguirre. They have been a pleasure to work with throughout this process.

Ruth Rosenberg wrote the companion report to this one ("Best Practices for Programming to Protect and Assist Victims of Trafficking in Europe and Eurasia"). Ruth is an accomplished researcher and has contributed much toward understanding the issue of trafficking in persons and the responses to it. I am pleased to have had a chance to work with her.

At the NEXUS Institute, I am fortunate to work with Rebecca Surtees. As Senior Researcher at NEXUS, Rebecca has completed as much research on the issue of human trafficking in this region as anyone, especially primary research based on the perspectives and experiences of victims of trafficking. This report, which relies upon portions of that body of work, reflects Rebecca's findings.

Finally, I would like to thank all who have supported the NEXUS Institute and our work to improve laws, policies, and practice to combat human trafficking around the world.

Stephen Warnath
Executive Director
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Executive Summary

This report was commissioned by USAID's Europe & Eurasia (E&E) Bureau to examine best practices in activities designed to prevent trafficking in persons (TIP) in the countries of the E&E region. The purpose of this report is to assist the E&E Bureau to improve anti-trafficking in persons programs in terms of effectiveness and impact, thereby reducing the incidence of TIP. USAID seeks to determine the strengths and weaknesses of program approaches to date and discover where anti-TIP efforts can be integrated into other relevant USAID programming.

To achieve this goal, this report highlights TIP best practices and lessons learned that were extracted from the available project-specific literature, primarily documents produced in conjunction with USAID-supported projects and supplemented by a larger review of the literature relevant to anti-trafficking prevention strategies and methods. (A complete listing of sources is found in Annex A: References.) This report builds upon the work of a 2004 assessment entitled "Best Practices to Prevent Trafficking in Persons in Europe and Eurasia" by Ruth Rosenberg.[1] A companion report ("Best Practices for Programming to Protect and Assist Victims of Trafficking in Europe and Eurasia") reviews protection and assistance programs for TIP victims in the E&E region.

This report covers the following countries: Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Romania, Russia, Serbia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan.[2]

Methodology & Limitations

The literature reviewed in preparation for this report was extensive, including a review of international governmental and non-governmental reports, newspaper articles, and academic publications. Publications and websites of USAID and other U.S. Government agencies, as well as their implementing partners, were searched for applicable material. The websites of a number of NGO service providers and international organizations, including those based or working in the region, were reviewed. Finally, the global resource center on anti-trafficking issues at the NEXUS Institute was utilized. This library and resource center contains over 2,000 counter-trafficking documents, among them project descriptions; research reports and studies; relevant laws, policies and programs; and articles on trafficking and anti-trafficking work, including many published by NGO service providers located in the E&E region.

Despite the extensive literature review, this report was necessarily limited in time and scope. No field research was undertaken, and limited budgetary resources permitted no first-hand verification of the data presented in the literature. Further, the lack of project evaluations hinders the author's ability to compare the efficacy of TIP prevention activities or to identify "best practices" in any way other than preliminary. Gaps in the coverage of TIP in the E&E literature also exist, and there are few programs designed to prevent certain forms of trafficking (e.g., labor trafficking).

[1] Rosenberg, Ruth. "Best Practices for Programming to Prevent Trafficking in Human Beings in Europe and Eurasia." USAID/Development Alternatives, Inc., September 2004.
[2] For simplicity of language, Bosnia and Herzegovina will be referred to as Bosnia or BiH.

Analysis of Prevention Programs

In general, prevention activities may be understood to include any intervention aimed at reducing or eliminating the likelihood of human trafficking and re-trafficking. Prevention programs are typically divided into four categories:

- Changing the overall context or environment (social, cultural, economic, political/legal) in which TIP occurs;
- Addressing one or more variables associated with an individual (a "potential victim") that may contribute to a heightened risk or vulnerability (e.g., lack of information, family crisis, economic problems);
- Targeting the criminals and establishing deterrence in the form of an effective justice system; and
- Increasing the ability of officials and others to identify potential TIP cases prior to the occurrence of TIP exploitation and to enable appropriate intervention (e.g., at border crossings).

In order to more thoroughly understand prevention programs, it is useful to analyze them within the more specific subcategories of awareness raising, employment, income-generation, empowerment, crisis prevention and violence mitigation, safe migration, demand reduction, protection as prevention, and deterrence through criminalization. Various prevention programs may fall under multiple categories and activities, or methods utilized within categories may serve multiple purposes.

In each of these areas, USAID Missions and other donors have funded programs, the vast majority of which use awareness raising, employment, and empowerment activities as the anchors of their efforts. Examples of prevention initiatives implemented by TIP prevention projects in the E&E region are presented in the body of this report. The outcomes of TIP prevention projects have been successful by some measures – potential victims of trafficking (VoTs) are more aware of situations from which they could be trafficked, and in many countries where awareness campaigns have been conducted the general population is more aware of the existence and risks of TIP. The evidence for success in other kinds of prevention programs, however, and of long-term TIP prevention is rarely available.

Conclusions

Building upon prevention efforts initiated approximately ten years ago, USAID projects have grown significantly in reach and breadth in countries of the E&E region. Reports document a number of positive changes in attitudes and behaviors in the lives of many participants in anti-TIP programs. Determining the effectiveness of prevention programs, however, has remained problematic. It is not possible, at least based upon a document review, to assess comparative effectiveness of specific programs or approaches to reducing TIP in the region.

The context of risk and vulnerability in which TIP flourishes – and that prevention work seeks to alter – is complicated. The breadth, pervasiveness, and in many cases intransigience of factors contributing to the existence of TIP present a serious test for all prevention activities. Unfortunately, the design and implementation of TIP prevention initiatives rarely address this complexity. And because so little empirical work has been done regarding these factors, many assumptions have emerged to fill the void.

Accordingly, the key challenge for improving prevention efforts is two-fold: 1) insufficient data on the root causes, contributing factors, vulnerabilities, and risks that may lead to TIP in general and to the diverse manifestations of TIP in different countries and communities; and 2) insufficient data on the prevention of trafficking as a result of TIP prevention programming. Improvement in prevention results

should follow from increasing this understanding and from testing the current assumptions about the relationship between activity and outcomes upon which prevention measures rest.

Recommendations

The full analysis and discussion that form the basis of the recommendations presented comprise the main body of this report.

1. Donors and TIP prevention program implementers should **strengthen the understanding of underlying contributing factors in order to improve TIP prevention programming**.

a. Analyze what type of data needs to be collected – and how it can be collected across the region – to form the basis of reliable empirical findings about root causes, contributing factors, risks, and vulnerabilities linked to TIP.

b. Ascertain what factors work to counter vulnerabilities and risk of potential victims of TIP. Analyze what differentiates the circumstances of similarly situated individuals, some who are eventually trafficked and some who are not.

2. Donors and TIP prevention program implementers should **refine the link between project activities and TIP prevention outcomes**.

a. Gather new data for prevention results assessments.

b. Develop long term frameworks within which individual TIP projects are located to permit determination of prevention results. Strategies should be developed, including post-project evaluation methods, to compensate for existing structural impediments (e.g., short-term, incremental projects).

c. Incorporate into future TIP projects data collection procedures that will permit evaluation by independent evaluators and researchers at points in time after the completion of the project.

d. Design research projects to answer questions specific to establishing the link between TIP prevention activities and prevention results.

e. Require monitoring and evaluation (M&E) to be an integral component of TIP prevention projects.

f. Develop baselines and outcome indicators that are specific, meaningful, and measurable.

g. Utilize impact evaluations to illustrate positive and negative results as well as intended and unintended consequences.

h. Fund the budget requirements for projects to implement sound M&E.

i. Develop incentives for TIP prevention project applicants and/or implementers to initiate stronger outcome indicators for their respective projects to supplement and link to output measures.

j. Supplement internal evaluation of TIP prevention projects with external evaluation work. Self-evaluation by project implementers, although useful for project management purposes and for donors as part of a larger evaluation approach, is not a substitute for objective assessments by experienced researchers and evaluators.

3. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should work together to **refine their ability to target prevention programs to at-risk groups**.

a. With more precision, identify and disaggregate groups at risk of being potential victims of TIP.

b. Address all forms of trafficking in persons in implementation of TIP prevention strategies.

c. Identify all populations underserved by TIP prevention projects for each country in the E&E region.

d. Incorporate neglected at-risk groups into TIP prevention strategy development and program design. Strategies and projects should be adapted for and tailored to these groups in order to achieve maximum effectiveness.

e. Extend TIP prevention efforts more systematically to reach at-risk populations in rural communities.

f. Examine opportunities to partner/collaborate with prevention-related projects provided by governments and NGOs, especially to expand ability to reach underserved populations and/or communities with TIP prevention efforts.

4. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **prioritize TIP awareness-raising projects that emphasize prevention.**

a. For projects in countries reporting extremely high levels of TIP awareness (i.e., awareness saturation) among their populations, examine whether adjustments should be undertaken to improve prevention effectiveness rather than continuing the status quo of message saturation.

b. Emphasize TIP awareness projects that demonstrate over time prevention results instead of information "campaigns" with general messages (with the exception of outreach to areas that still have little prior knowledge of TIP).

c. Avoid sensationalized, alarmist, or frightening awareness messages. Scare tactics about TIP do not appear to resonate with intended recipients of those messages.

d. Examine whether messages that provide ways for the individuals to protect themselves from falling victims to TIP lead to better prevention results than general messages.

e. Determine more precisely how different groups take in, process, digest, and act upon messages. Generic messages have dubious prevention value.

f. Magnify the impact of awareness/prevention messages by tailoring them more precisely to narrowly targeted audiences.

g. Test prevention messages for effectiveness with minors of different age-groups. Assume that anti-TIP messages created for adults will not resonate effectively with children.

h. Revisit awareness messages for men; consider specifically whether adjustments are necessary due to resistance to the "victim" label for VoTs.

i. Consider whether experts in advertising and media message content can contribute to the development of awareness messages and strategies by TIP prevention projects.

j. Examine whether there are lessons to be learned from those experienced with awareness campaigns designed to change behavior or attitudes for issues such as domestic violence or HIV/AIDS.

k. To the extent appropriate and ethical, seek to include participation of former VoTs to elicit their first-hand perspectives in the design of TIP prevention projects.

5. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **tighten the link between employment-based, income-generating, and empowerment prevention activities and long-term prevention results.**

a. Monitor job placement over time for graduates of economic-based courses. If necessary, continue documenting beyond initial job placement to evaluate prevention impact associated with sustained local employment. Only over time (at least one year after the conclusion of the project) can prevention results be assessed.

b. Examine the effectiveness of achieving TIP prevention arising from skills training and empowerment programs within the context of local employment and economic conditions in each country of the E&E region. Review, for example, the extent to which graduates of these programs from economically suppressed areas ultimately migrate to other countries seeking employment and what happens to graduates who stay but do not find jobs.

c. Conduct further research regarding tailoring the design of income-generating projects to serve TIP prevention objectives most effectively.

6. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **ensure that safe migration projects supported by anti-TIP grants and contracts are tailored specifically to maximize the achievement of TIP prevention objectives.**

a. Data gathering and analysis of safe migration TIP prevention projects need to be strengthened to begin to identify factors and circumstances (apart from the criminal intervention of a trafficker) of program participants that differentiate an individual who migrates successfully from one who is trafficked. To start, data should be collected from assisted VoTs about whether they participated in safe migration projects prior to being trafficked and why, from their perspective, the content of those projects failed to prevent them from being trafficked.

b. Examine whether cooperative partnerships can be developed between NGOs in countries of origin and those in countries of destination in order to vet jobs in destination countries. Consideration could also be given to whether job vetting is a prevention approach for which government-NGO collaborations could be developed.

7. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **include demand reduction approaches** that demonstrate effective TIP prevention results as part of comprehensive TIP prevention strategy.

a. Address demand reduction as part of comprehensive TIP prevention strategies.

b. Conduct the first analysis of the effectiveness of demand as a prevention method for different forms of TIP.

8. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **consider TIP prevention impact of gender-based factors**.

a. Determine if gender stereotypes about who is likely to be a TIP victim and preconceptions hamper TIP prevention efforts.

Purpose and Methodology

Purpose

The purpose of this report is to assist the Europe & Eurasia (E&E) Bureau to improve the effectiveness of programs to prevent and reduce trafficking in persons (TIP). Toward this goal, this report highlights selected TIP "best practices" and lessons learned that were extracted from written studies and reports. This report also identifies several fundamental obstacles impeding the E&E Bureau's ability to determine, evaluate, and compare the quality of prevention results and the prevention effectiveness of its projects.

An initial assessment of USAID anti-trafficking prevention programs in the E&E region was conducted in 2004 by Ruth Rosenberg, "Best Practices for Programming to Prevent Trafficking in Human Beings in Europe and Eurasia" (2004). This paper extends the findings of Rosenberg's article and provides additional insights to improve the impact and cost effectiveness of prevention projects in the region.

This report is not intended to be a "how-to" manual on prevention for practitioners, nor is it within the scope of this report to catalog and describe all prevention projects supported by USAID or others in the region. Given the breadth of activities included in many of the projects, such an exercise would easily overwhelm the central purpose (and intended scope) of this report, which is to consider ways to advance the effectiveness of future prevention efforts. Further, more detailed and updated information about projects than is possible to include here is available from many of the projects' websites, project informational brochures, and other public sources. Moreover, many of the specific project numbers reviewed for this report will be superseded by newer data by the time this report is published. Rather than focus on numbers, this report attempts to derive insights and lessons that will broaden the usefulness of available data. Finally, as indicated above, this report is intended to build upon, and not retread, ground covered by Rosenberg's earlier report that provides an excellent introduction to the nature of prevention efforts generally and prevention projects specifically through 2004 in the E&E region.

Rosenberg's report describes the range of prevention approaches applied in the E&E region. It finds that prevention efforts in the region have had success in preventing the trafficking of individuals, although documentation of these successes is mostly anecdotal. The study also finds that the general population was more aware of trafficking and the exploitation of migrants than it had been prior to TIP prevention programs. Aside from these successes, however, the study reveals that TIP prevention programs may have driven traffickers to change their methods of operation, either in recruitment, transit routes, or secrecy of operations.

It is hoped that this report may serve donors who are developing and funding prevention projects to improve those projects in the future.

Methodology

This report takes the current literature about prevention projects in the E&E region as a starting point to examine prevention interventions and the extent to which they have prevented human trafficking.

The literature reviewed in preparation for this report was extensive. It included international governmental and non-governmental reports, newspaper articles, and academic publications. To aid this endeavor, the E&E Bureau provided over one hundred project reports and related documents from its files. Publications and websites of USAID and other U.S. Government agencies, as well as their contracting firms, were searched for applicable material. The websites of a number of NGO service providers and

international organizations, including those based or working in the region, were reviewed. Finally, the global resource center on anti-trafficking issues at the NEXUS Institute was utilized. This library and resource center contains over 2,000 counter-trafficking documents, among them project descriptions; research reports and studies; relevant laws, policies and programs; and articles on trafficking and anti-trafficking work, including many published by NGO service providers located in the E&E region.

Limitations

The preparation of this report was necessarily limited by a number of factors. First, as a short-term literature review, the research project was limited in time and scope. No field research was undertaken, and limited budgetary resources permitted no first-hand verification of the data presented in the literature. Furthermore, while many documents describe project activities, relatively few address project evaluations. Projects provide many output numbers but few outcome or results numbers. Where prevention projects show gaps in types of trafficking (e.g., labor trafficking), there are gaps in information.

Analysis of Prevention Programs

In general, prevention activities may be understood to include any intervention aimed at reducing or eliminating the likelihood of human trafficking and re-trafficking. Prevention programs are typically divided into four categories:

- Changing the overall context or environment (social, cultural, economic, political/legal) in which TIP occurs;
- Addressing one or more variables associated with an individual (i.e., a "potential victim") that may contribute to a heightened risk or vulnerability (e.g., lack of information, family crisis, economic problems);
- Targeting the criminals and establishing deterrence in the form of an effective justice system; and
- Increasing the ability of officials and others to identify potential TIP cases prior to the occurrence of the TIP exploitation and to enable these individuals to intervene appropriately (e.g., at border crossings).

The United States' support for TIP prevention programs in the E&E region is not new. The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) as well as other U.S. Government entities – notably the U.S. Department of State's Office of the Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs[3], its Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration, and the United States Information Agency[4]– initiated such anti-trafficking projects over a decade ago. These prevention efforts combined awareness raising and economic opportunity initiatives.

Building upon this decade-long experience of implementing prevention activities in the E&E region, USAID has continued to increase the scope of its prevention strategies as well as to expand prevention activities to additional E&E countries. A partial list of on-going and past USAID-supported projects directed at preventing TIP in whole or in part includes:

- Albania: The Coordinated Action Against Human Trafficking (CAAHT) program, implemented by Creative Associates (2004-2009), is a comprehensive approach to anti-TIP programming engaging civil society and government. The primary activity strengthens the capacity and participation of civil society for trafficking prevention and supports assistance for and the reintegration of trafficking victims. As part of wide-ranging activities directed at the prevention of child trafficking, the Transnational Action against Child Trafficking (TACT) program, implemented by Terre des Hommes (TdH) (2006-2010), focuses on the identification of at-risk children and conducting related prevention activities.

- Croatia: USAID prevention efforts included support for NGOs in selected border communities to raise awareness and public understanding of the risks of trafficking in their localities and to provide the public with information on where to turn when they detect cases of trafficking (implemented by World Learning, 2004-2006). The USAID Mission, with the Ministry of Education, developed awareness material for use in schools (implemented by the IOM, 2002-2003).

- Central Asian Republics (CAR): USAID has supported far-ranging prevention initiatives in CAR. This included:

[3] This has since been renamed the Office of the Undersecretary for Democracy and Global Affairs.
[4] The functions of the USIA were folded into the Department of State's Bureau of Public Affairs by law in 1999.

  - Kyrgyz Republic: USAID provided support for 18 local NGOs implementing prevention activities in the Preventing Human Trafficking Project in Kyrgyzstan (Winrock International, 2003-2005).

  - Kazakhstan: USAID supported awareness raising among vulnerable groups; job skills training; crisis centers; shelters; and training for religious leaders, medical professionals and educators (implemented by IOM, n.d.).

  - Tajikistan: USAID supported work of the IOM in Tajikistan to develop an anti-trafficking information campaign.

  - Uzbekistan: USAID supports IOM's anti-trafficking activities, which include broad awareness and prevention efforts.

- Georgia: USAID's program supported sweeping prevention activities using IRIS/Georgia and the Georgian Young Lawyers Association (2005-2008). These activities focused on trafficking prevention by working with students in schools and by public events and outreach campaigns to reach the general population.

- Kosovo: Among its activities, USAID has supported informational and awareness-raising activities.

- Moldova: Efforts have focused especially on the economic roots of trafficking and improving access to employment within Moldova for young women and girls. Activities include: awareness raising; victim assistance and support services; outreach; and development of employment/business opportunities.

- Montenegro: USAID funded IOM's public information activities targeting actual and potential TIP victims and local populations in areas most at risk for trafficking.

- Romania: USAID/Romania supported NGOs to implement activities aimed at preventing vulnerable children, especially street children, from becoming victims of trafficking (VoTs). Activities included life skills training and social/occupational services for children who left state welfare institutions.

- Russia: Efforts included support for the ambitious Path to Success program to inform and educate youth and their families in the Russian Far East about the dangers of human trafficking (implemented by Winrock International, 2003-2008). The program supported two grants for NGOs. One grant raised public awareness to reinforce anti-trafficking messages and positive values needed to address the underlying causes of trafficking. The second established NGO-teacher partnerships to train teachers to integrate life skills, leadership, and self-esteem building topics to increase economic alternatives for young women. In other parts of Russia, USAID supported training in leadership, job and entrepreneurial skills, and the creation of NGO networks to increase public awareness of human trafficking and to develop practical employment alternatives for women and girls (implemented by IREX, 2001-2004).

- Serbia: USAID funded the IOM (2002-2005) to conduct, in cooperation with a local NGO (Beosupport), an anti-trafficking awareness-raising campaign throughout Serbia. In addition, the Regional Clearing Point, based in Belgrade, undertook the most comprehensive collection and

analysis of national and regional trafficking data (including trafficking patterns, recruitment practices, routes and profile data on victims assisted) and the assistance and protection programs existing in the region for trafficking victims (Surtees, 2005).

- Ukraine: USAID has supported large scale projects in Ukraine, one led by IOM (2004-2009) and another that was previously headed by Winrock International (1998-2004). Together, the projects have provided Ukraine with an extensive range of prevention activities across the country, including working intensively with women and children to utilize a number of support and empowerment methods such as walk-in services and training in job search strategies and business development. Other activities involve increasing awareness among government and community leaders, service providers, and the general public.

The foregoing overview is only a partial indication of the commitment that USAID has made to prevention efforts across the E&E region.

In order to more thoroughly understand prevention programs, it is useful to analyze them within the more specific subcategories of awareness raising, employment, income-generation, empowerment, crisis prevention/violence mitigation, safe migration, demand reduction, protection as prevention, and crime prevention/enforcement as TIP deterence.[5] Various prevention programs may fall under multiple categories, and activities or methods utilized within categories may serve multiple purposes.

Raising Awareness

Awareness as a prevention tool is based on the premise that information can help individuals anticipate, recognize, and avoid the many ways that traffickers use deception or coercion against them. In several respects, awareness serves as a foundation upon which other elements of a successful anti-trafficking strategy are built. Without first establishing a minimum level of understanding of human trafficking, it is impossible to identify VoTs, provide assistance, or to garner the political will needed to combat TIP.

The literature reviewed for this report describes a variety of awareness-raising approaches that have been utilized in the E&E region, including the following:

1. Operating helplines and hotlines to disseminate information;
2. Putting on trafficking awareness events such as concerts, theater productions, street performances, art exhibits, parades, and dances;
3. Developing and broadcasting television public service announcements (PSAs);
4. Hosting or creating radio and television programs;
5. Developing soap operas or other televised dramatic depictions;
6. Creating and showing documentary films;
7. Publishing and disseminating brochures, posters, flyers, and other printed material;
8. Placing billboards and/or informational materials on public transportation;
9. Distributing anti-trafficking messages on "give-aways" such as t-shirts, pens, bags, or notebooks;
10. Conducting training seminars for specific target audiences such as government officials, law enforcement, journalists, students, teachers, and medical practitioners;
11. Working with religious leaders and institutions on outreach;
12. Carrying out empowerment programs (with an awareness component);
13. Holding conferences, dialogues, lectures, exchanges, town meetings, discussion groups, or roundtables;

[5] A comprehensive introduction to prevention project approaches is provided by Rosenberg (2004).

14. Running summer camps for youth;
15. Preparing curricula for use in schools and training of teachers in the curriculum as well as developing after-school programs and parent-student dialogues;
16. Sponsoring essay and drawing contests and debates for students;
17. Creating cartoons to reach children; and
18. Placing trafficking awareness advertisements or PSAs in newspapers and magazines.[6]

Without question, anti-trafficking organizations in the region have applied a broad and creative array of vehicles to distribute information about TIP to a variety of populations.

The purpose of awareness raising can vary. When the awareness raising involves trafficking prevention, the messages typically attempt to educate individuals about the risks and dangers of human trafficking in ways that enhance decision making and action taking in order to lower the risk of being trafficked. Awareness-raising activities, however, can also serve objectives other than prevention. For example, activities may involve distributing basic information to introduce and educate readers about the existence of the phenomenon. Or awareness-raising activities may impart information about how to identify and report a suspected case of human trafficking. Some awareness-raising campaigns are focused on advocacy and directed toward policymakers (e.g., they convey the message that trafficking is an international human rights issue or that an anti-trafficking law is needed). Other awareness raising seeks to change attitudes about VoTs to decrease stereotypes and stigma.[7]

USAID and other donors have supported a number of large awareness programs in the E&E region. Contrasted with the earliest projects in the late 1990s, current projects have grown significantly in size and scope. Moreover, whereas the awareness-raising efforts of those original projects were primarily "paper-based," utilizing media such as posters, pamphlets, and flyers, efforts now involve more holistic and multi-faceted awareness campaigns that utilize multiple approaches.

In Georgia, for example, an awareness project implemented for USAID by the Georgia Young Lawyers Association (GYLA)[8] employed a range of awareness methods with multiple target groups to increase knowledge of the risk of trafficking. Working with the Ministry of Education and Science and anti-trafficking experts, the GYLA conducted awareness-raising campaigns in schools. The anti-trafficking meetings held at dozens of schools were attended by nearly 900 children and 40 teachers. At the end of these meetings, awareness-raising materials – postcards, bookmarks, pens, and notebooks – were distributed to reinforce the message. At the conclusion of the school year, GYLA continued awareness raisings for youth on TIP issues by turning its attention to boarding schools, where homeless children or children with disabilities live and study.

To expand its reach, GYLA collaborated with an organization that holds free concerts for youth on public holidays, encouraging singers to address concert-going youth with anti-trafficking messages and to wear anti-trafficking t-shirts. GYLA also organized meetings, attended by up to 400 people, intended to educate the general population on human trafficking. Other awareness-raising activities for the general population included the following:

- T-shirts with the project's message were distributed.

[6] See Rosenberg (2004).
[7] See La Strada Belarus website (referring to need to change prevailing attitudes that stigmatize trafficking victims as perpetrators, prostitutes, illegal immigrants, or "bad people who come to a country and spread sexually transmitted diseases").
[8] This information is distilled from GYLA, 2007.

- Call-in radio shows, television talk shows, a documentary, and PSAs on radio broadcasts were conducted.
- Small stands holding awareness booklets were strategically placed around Georgia, for example, in embassies, consulates and international organizations, Ministry of Education Resource Centers, international organizations, and NGOs.
- Anti-TIP campaign stickers were widely displayed in the Tbilisi subway and in buses in Georgian cities.
- A joint working group was created by NGOs and international organizations for sharing information to avoid duplication and to maximize resources for awareness raising and other activities in the country.

These activities suggest the sweeping nature of this effort—national in scope, with multiple target groups and a range of mobilized mediums and methods. Other ambitious awareness campaigns supported by USAID were implemented in Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Albania, and the countries of the Central Asia Region. The scale of awareness activities of some projects appears to be based upon a saturation strategy, its primary objective to blanket a country's residents with anti-trafficking messages. In their reports to USAID, project implementers have documented prodigiously the outputs of such awareness-raising activities. The sheer output for projects in a number of the countries has been immense.

Smaller scale awareness-raising projects have been conducted in other countries in the E&E region as well. At the same time, other donors and organizations have invested heavily in significant awareness-raising programs in a number of these countries. As discussed below, the combination of these efforts has raised awareness to high levels throughout the region.

Examples of Output Data from Awareness Campaigns

In Belarus, the Mass Information Campaign conducted by the IOM as part of USAID's Prevention of Trafficking in Persons in Belarus, included the design and placement of 160,000 leaflets, 10,000 posters, and 35 billboards, as well as the production or sponsorship of 340 lectures, four television programs (focusing on labor migration and stigma towards VoTs), public service announcements, and a visual arts contest.

In the Central Asia region, the lead implementer of the Combating Trafficking in Persons project, IOM, reported that in Kazakhstan during one quarterly reporting period alone, the project's local NGO partners held 89 training sessions and information dissemination and awareness-raising events that were attended by 3,563 participants. The NGOs published 10 articles and 29 advertisements in newspapers and appeared on nine television programs.

Similarly, NGOs operating hotlines have amassed substantial call statistics. The NGO-operated hotlines in Kazakhstan, for example, received 3,766 calls from April to June, 2005. IOM's Counter-Trafficking Project in Ukraine assisted 28,000 hotline callers with safe migration information or referrals from 2004 to 2006. In Belarus, the La Strada hotline, which has been in operation since 2001, has received over 12,000 phone calls.

This small sample reflects a much larger collection of data measuring output gathered by USAID projects in the region. It merely begins to suggest the sweep and penetration of awareness-related activities in E&E countries. While the scale of use of awareness campaigns is striking, it is difficult to assess the extent to which these programs have actually prevented trafficking. For example, in Kazakhstan, 19 hotlines operated by NGO partners of IOM between December 2001 and September 2003 received

25,000 calls, most of which were calls from potential migrants. Only two percent of the calls referred explicitly to "trafficking" (Kelly, 2003:91-2). This does not necessarily mean that there is no anti-trafficking benefit to the 98 percent of calls that did not refer explicitly to trafficking. However, the demonstrable output success of awareness-raising projects leads to the question, discussed later in this report, of what can be inferred from output measures vis-à-vis prevention objectives.

In addition to broad outreach and awareness raising for the general population, information and awareness about TIP is also imparted through structured training and educational programs. Three important avenues for such projects are training for journalists; awareness-raising sessions for public officials, local community, and religious leaders; and educational programs for children in schools.[9]

By all accounts, efforts to raise awareness have been very successful throughout the E&E region. In Albania, an assessment of USAID's CAAHT program found that 100 percent of research respondents indicated awareness of at least one anti-trafficking message, and 84 percent of respondents reported that a specific message was addressed to them (Somach & Surtees, 2005).

A similarly high percentage of study participants in the Russian Federation were found to have been reached by trafficking informational messages: "Over 80 percent of respondents in the Russian Federation have heard of potential risks associated with exploitation and trafficking of those migrating" (Tyuryukanova, 2006).[10]

A 2006 IOM report that focused on levels of awareness in Belarus, Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine, confirmed "high levels" of awareness of human trafficking in the five countries. It found "general awareness of human trafficking" to be at the following levels: 88 percent in Moldova, 78 percent in Ukraine,[11] 83 percent in Belarus,[12] 83 percent in Romania, and 87 percent in Bulgaria.

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[9] In the E&E region, one of the most ambitious uses of a school-based awareness raising is the TACT program in Albania. The reported output measures suggest the scope of this project:

> *Through 2170 awareness raising sessions organized in 70 schools of 14 districts of Albania, 35711 schoolchildren have been informed through a first round of prevention, while 22549 children have benefited from a refresher kit of prevention. The total number of impacted children has been 58 260 . . . There have been, in total, 69 awareness raising sessions organized with 1507 teachers and 139 headmasters.* (TdH, 2006)

Educational programs have been conducted in other countries in the E&E region, including Ukraine, Russia, and Romania. By 2004, educational programs on trafficking for school children had been included in all National Plans of Action in the countries of Southeast Europe (Limanowska, 2005:83).

[10] Rosenberg (2004) reported evidence provided by NGOs of increases in awareness in several other countries in the E&E region: in Croatia, following a series of seminars for law enforcers, judges, lawyers, and prosecutors, participants showed a 20 percent increase in their understanding of trafficking (Rosenberg, 2004 citing ICMC Croatia, 2003). A study in Georgia "demonstrated a fivefold increase in the general population's understanding of trafficking following a concerted information campaign" ("Women for Future"). In 2001, prior to the campaign start, only 20 percent of respondents associated trafficking with sexual exploitation, while a second study conducted two years later, found that 100 percent of the respondents knew that sexual exploitation is a form of trafficking. The study also cited other examples of the increased knowledge of the population in the past two years. The authors attribute this increase to the awareness-raising campaigns conducted in the interim.

[11] An earlier study in Ukraine (see Rudd, 2002) found that 38 percent of the general population knew about the dangers of trafficking. A presentation by USAID Ukraine in 2005 reported that 99 percent of 1048 respondents surveyed in Ukraine had an understanding of the problem (Timoshenko 2005:4). Overall, the data suggest that efforts to raise awareness have been effective over time.

[12] Other recent research in Belarus suggests even higher levels of awareness. It found that the number of people aware of the TIP phenomenon had increased from 96 percent in 2006 to 98 percent in 2007 (IOM, 2007).

Employment and Income-Producing Strategies

Local and national unemployment, severe underemployment, or unsustainable economic circumstances are commonly identified in human trafficking discourse as the catalysts for seeking better financial opportunities outside of an individual's current location. While the presence of these factors is, generally speaking, well documented, studies have noted that the notion that human trafficking is caused by "low income" or "poverty" is simplistic. A more nuanced understanding of the interplay between objective and subjective economic considerations must be established in order to create effective prevention and assistance programs.[13] Profiles of assisted victims show, for example, that many trafficking victims held jobs just before or when they were trafficked (Surtees, 2005; Surtees, 2008b). At the same time, it has been observed that the very poor probably do not make attractive targets for traffickers, as they may not be healthy or strong enough to generate substantial profits for traffickers (Bales, 2005:10). These profiles clearly suggest that other factors come into consideration, both related and unrelated to employment and financial circumstances, when individuals make the decisions that ultimately lead to being trafficked (see e.g., Lazaroiu and Alexandru, 2003).

Vocational programs that assist in job placement are the centerpiece of a number of large prevention programs in the E&E region. The services provided may include workshops on job search strategies and assistance with resume writing and interviewing techniques, training seminars on job skills development and entrepreneurship, vocational and technical skills courses, internships and mentoring programs, job placement assistance, and post-employment counseling. Typically, these programs also have empowerment components that address self-esteem and self-confidence as issues for "potential victims."

The aim of such vocational programs is to provide individuals with a means of economic self-sufficiency. They are also intended to reduce or negate some economic concerns and to provide participants with the tools they need to better protect themselves in their personal and professional lives from disempowering, risky, or dangerous circumstances.

For example, in Moldova, USAID funds Winrock International's New Perspectives for Women, a multi-year project that "aims to reduce the criminal trade in human beings by addressing the economic roots of trafficking and improving the access of young women and girls aged 16 to 25 to employment opportunities within Moldova" (www.winrock.org/md).

Utilizing Regional Support Centers (RSCs) within Moldova, the program "provides walk-in consultations, training in trafficking prevention, skills courses, short and long term employment and entrepreneurship training, internship programs and assists in the development of peer support groups" (Winrock International & UNDP, 2007).

Components of this economic empowerment program include:

- Individual consultations for women on issues related to employment and entrepreneurship such as resume writing, job search strategies, interviewing and drafting business plans;
- One- and two-day Leadership for Employment and Leadership for Entrepreneurship training seminars;
- Skills courses in areas such as computer literacy, accounting, and tailoring; and
- Mentoring and internship programs.

[13] Programs of employment-related training and placement serve prevention objectives for "potential" victims and help guard against the re-trafficking of returned victims. They also serve recovery purposes for VoTs.

Through May 2006, reported examples of the program's outputs connected to economic self-sufficiency included more than 3,300 women who had received training in employability and entrepreneurship and more than 2,900 women who had received business, psychological, and legal consultations.

Of course, the ultimate objective is to find sustainable income-generating opportunities, and the program's data suggest initial signs of success on this point. Winrock reported that "329 young women and girls found employment, and more than a hundred established [their] own business."[14]

In Russia, the USAID-funded "Path to Success" program also offered courses "under the guidance of the local NGOs with careful consideration of the candidate's inclinations and the local employment situation. . . Most commonly chosen courses are those related [to] computer literacy, accountancy, sales, and hairdressing" (IOM, 2008).

The prevention value of these employment assistance and training projects is based on achieving results that lower the incidence of trafficking by helping potential VoTs to find local employment and become financially secure. This line of reasoning, however, is based upon a number of critical assumptions that, if unmet, can undermine the success of these efforts. These assumptions include:

1. Local job availability (i.e., in the area where the individual lives and the training occurs)
2. Suitable and sufficient training to help participants obtain available local jobs
3. Desirability of graduates of training programs as employees to local employers
4. Desirability of available jobs to program graduates
5. Jobs that provide graduates with a sustainable financial livelihood
6. Local jobs that are preferable to jobs abroad and that alleviate the desire or need to migrate

In contrast to achieving other worthwhile objectives such as increased knowledge of business practices or raised confidence and self-esteem, to be effective at preventing trafficking, projects need to recognize and ensure that these conditions are satisfied. Each of these assumptions must be met to bolster the success of these efforts.

Even when success is clear, however, an assessment of the far-reaching Path to Success program in Russia encapsulates the difficulty of ascertaining the impact of these programs:

> *Since the number of job placements and increased earnings were not systematically tracked, only anecdotal results are known. Most of the focus group participants from job readiness and professional trainings had found employment, although mostly on their own initiative. Information on job placements and increased earnings was not systematically recorded, so the impact of the job readiness trainings is largely anecdotal.* (Somach, 2007:8-10)

Clearly, USAID has made a major commitment to employment-based projects in the E&E region as a method to prevent TIP and these projects have shown successes in initial placement of graduates.

Income Generation and Entrepreneurial Programs

The entrepreneurial components of employment assistance programs face the challenge that although they are positive in general and achieve specific project objectives (e.g., trainings conducted, business plans written), demonstrating that TIP has been prevented by these programs is problematic. Program

[14] Also, 141 trafficking victims (presumably returned to Moldova, although perhaps some internally trafficked victims) received assistance services (Winrock International & UNDP, 2007).

documents have reported mostly short-term or anecdotal examples of successes. It is important for entrepreneurial and income-generating approaches to begin to show longer-term prevention-related impact.

In Russia, Somach notes that because income generation and entrepreneurial courses have a "relatively long duration (from 3 weeks to 3 months) and higher cost, entrepreneurship training was offered to a rather small number of women. And, most of those trained did not actually start businesses (only 15% in Krasnodar)" (Somach, 2007:13). Program indicators for this component measured such aspects as: 1) number of women trained in basic job skills; 2) number of women trained in small enterprise development; and 3) number of small grants awarded to the start-up of new businesses. Somach concludes that "none of these indicators . . . measured the change in human lives and it is difficult to say if the participants became less vulnerable to becoming victims of trafficking" (Somach, 2007:14).

If business success does not happen or is transitory, an unintended consequence of heightened risk of TIP may follow. For example, if a business start-up fails and goes into debt, the individual might consider migrating in order to pay off that debt. If the individual's business skills are sharpened and the individual finds that these skills are more marketable abroad, the individual may choose to migrate to earn money and thereby place him/herself at risk of being trafficked.

Accordingly, there appear to be many potentially positive effects of these programs for the individuals participating in them, and therefore good reasons exist to continue to support their work. Nevertheless, despite the general positive impact, the level of overall trafficking risk reduction and concrete prevention results generated by these programs is not established by any data.

Empowerment Programs and Improved Community Life

Empowerment programs target young people in order to improve their community lives, social skills, and interpersonal relations. Building confidence and self-esteem is often an important element of these programs. The TIP prevention components of such programs may combine awareness training, which is intended to help participants make informed decisions in order to reduce the risk of human trafficking, with a focus on addressing deficiencies in personal and social skills that may heighten vulnerability to trafficking. These programs also provide activities that serve as temporary safe environments from potential traffickers.

Empowerment programs address a range of issues that negatively impact the lives of children and youth such as leaving school, family problems, abuse and violence, stigma, and exlusion, among others. Examples of the types of approaches utilized include counseling, educational projects, after-school programs, and summer camps.

An example of summer camps for Roma children in Albania illustrates the implementation of these various activities:

> *[V]ulnerable children in Albania spend a lot of time working and begging on the street, which limits their educational and recreational opportunities and negatively impacts on their intellectual and physical development. Life on the street is either a form of trafficking or exposes children to the risk of trafficking or other forms of exploitation. Summer camps serve as a mechanism to prevent children from going to work on the street in the summer months and instead affords them educational and recreational opportunities in their communities. The programmes have been implemented jointly by Roma and non-Roma NGOs.* (Surtees, 2006b)

Empowerment and community improvement programs provide young people with the ability to make better choices in the job market, which may prevent them from pursuing unrealistic offers of riches abroad (Rosenberg, 2004:18). Empowerment programs are not unique to anti-trafficking projects. Many agencies and organizations, such as the United Nations, support empowerment programs that, organized as "camps" that focuse on sports or the arts, promote positive inter-ethnic relations for youth.[15]

The prevention benefits of empowerment programs are indirect, and these programs probably would be implemented in a number of countries whether or not they were associated with preventing trafficking in persons. One question that arises is in what circumstances and to what extent should funding that is dedicated to the prevention of human trafficking be relied upon as the exclusive funding support of clearly cross-cutting activities such as summer camps. Perhaps anti-TIP funds should be used to develop TIP prevention modules and activities that could be adapted for and incorporated into concurrent programs that focus on empowerment or improved community life.

In her 2004 report, Rosenberg observed that while positive impressions about the impact of these projects were common, no one could document prevention impact. Certainly more can and should be done to obtain evidence of positive outcomes. At a minimum, follow-ups should be conducted with participating children six months and one year after participation, to the extent possible and appropriate. However, it is likely that unless donors are willing to support a long-term study by experienced researchers that examines the longer-term trajectory of the lives of children participating in these programs (even at points in time after the specific implementing projects may have ended), data revealing long-term outcomes among participants will not likely be available for analysis. Thus, the impact of such programs will be unknowable, and the role and value of empowerment programs as a prevention method against TIP will remain uncertain.

Crisis Prevention and Family Violence Mitigation Programs

Family violence and other crisis intervention programs are intended to provide critical support that can reduce family conflict and violence while addressing other personal crises that may prevent individual family members from making decisions and taking actions that could heighten the risk of or lead to being trafficked. Crisis interventions are an important component of several USAID-sponsored projects in the E&E region.

In Albania and Greece, the TACT project works comprehensively with children and families at risk.[16] TdH recognizes that the family, not just the individual, holds part of the key to successful prevention of trafficking, especially regarding child trafficking. TdH has trained crisis prevention workers to pay regular visits to families who are the project's beneficiaries. Through social counseling, these family visits have raised awareness among parents about their children's rights and led to discussions of child trafficking and the consequences of child exploitation. These family visits allow workers to maintain regular contact with families, convince parents to enroll their children in school, and keep track of the

[15] Whether detailed research has been done regarding how the various camps in countries in the E&E region complement, duplicate, or overlap with each other is unclear. A more effective use of resources may involve determining whether a human trafficking awareness component can be incorporated into other "non-trafficking" summer camps and other empowerment programs by working co-operatively or in joint partnership.

[16] The TACT project uses the term "children at risk" to refer to "children directly exposed" to the risk of being trafficked (usually children under exploitation by their families but not moved, brothers or sisters of victims, or children intercepted just before being trafficked) (TdH 2006, fn.1). It uses the term "suspected victims" to refer to "children exploited in the streets (for forced begging, forced labor or in less extend [sic] sexual exploitation) and moved across borders or internally for the purpose of exploiting them" (id.).

further developments within the families. In total, there have been 15,400 family visits paid in Albania and Greece, out of which 620 were conducted together with the municipal social services (TdH, 2006). TdH's work with families extends beyond these visits to include help with food for the family and material assistance to encourage children to go to school or to vocational training.

In Ukraine, the multi-year USAID-sponsored Crisis Prevention Program (CPP), which was implemented by Winrock, described the strategy of crisis prevention and violence mitigation projects this way:

> *In an effort to assist potential trafficking victims as well as women who have returned from working abroad, this project focused on other factors that might increase the likelihood of a woman accepting a job offer abroad. For example, women may look to employment opportunities abroad as a means of escape from a crisis situation. Women returning from working abroad often need assistance dealing with traumas resulting from their experiences abroad.* (Winrock, 2004:10)

The CPP provided a variety of services to women in crisis situations, including trainings on trafficking prevention and violence prevention, which incorporate elements of women's leadership and human rights training to empower women; walk-in, personalized services including free information on trafficking in women, referral services to physicians and psychologists, *pro bono* legal consultations, and support groups for women experiencing similar situations; and free telephone information hotlines operated by the Centers (Winrock, 2004:10). The CPP reported the following activities and outputs:

- Total participating in nation-wide trafficking and violence prevention training seminars – 30,148;
- Total hotline calls received – 70,208, of which nine percent of callers had concerns about violence and 12 percent of callers were calling about relationship issues;
- During one reporting quarter, a total of 112 people participated in self-help groups at the seven Crisis Intervention Centers. The self-help groups provided women with the support they needed to be able to speak out, make informed decisions, and become more self-confident;
- From 2004 to mid-2008, a total of 29,876 women took advantage of the walk-in services provided at the Centers. During the reporting quarter, a total of 2,209 women used the CPP walk-in services for the first time. The majority of consultations were provided to victims of human trafficking and their relatives.

Again, despite the importance of these activities (and those of other similar projects in the E&E region), data have not been systematically gathered and analyzed by project implementers (or independent researchers) to assess the long-term trafficking prevention impact based upon behavioral or other changes due to these interventions.

Safe Migration Programs – Educating, Advising and Job Vetting

Programs aimed at promoting safe, legal migration are often touted as key to anti-trafficking prevention because many cases of trafficking involve criminals intercepting individuals intent on migrating and manipulating the migration process to serve their human trafficking objectives.

Safe migration programs are designed to address the problem of trafficking through seminars, distribution of "safe migration" awareness documents, and answering questions in response to helpline calls or at clinics. Common techniques that individuals are encouraged to utilize to protect themselves from deceitful job offers that veil trafficking schemes include:

1. Verify whether a job agency or opportunity is legitimate;
2. Ask for an employment contract;
3. Have someone – preferably a lawyer – review a contract and comment on it;
4. Review and sign a contract for employment;
5. Leave a copy of the contract with relatives or friends;
6. Leave a copy of a passport with relatives or friends;
7. Leave contact information with relatives or friends;
8. Leave the employer's contact information with relatives or friends;
9. Create a password/code language to let people know: "I'm in trouble";
10. Attend a career counseling session.

(Boak et al., 2003:95)

Safe migration projects are necessary; a growing number of studies find that most individuals will migrate regardless of programs sensitizing them to the risk of human trafficking. The critical question, then, is to what degree can specific "tips" promote an informed and vigilant migration experience that protects migrants against human trafficking.

The desired outcome of safe migration programs is that a migrating individual's behavior is consistent with protecting himself or herself. It is hoped that migrating individuals are enabled to recognize and make a series of decisions that will avert their being trafficked. The following paragraph illustrates the type of results these programs seek to achieve:

> *[C]lients of the NGO West Ukrainian Center "Women's Perspectives" in Ukraine had provided advice to two girls who had been offered jobs as dancers in Japan through a Polish company. As a result of this advice, the girls requested and received roundtrip tickets and refused to relinquish their passports on arrival. Soon after arriving, they met other girls from Ukraine and Russia whom they believed had been forced into prostitution. The girls ran away and used their tickets to return to Ukraine. The company contacted them and asked them to return the money for the travel, but the lawyer from the center wrote a letter outlining the numerous contract violations that had taken place and refusing to give back the money. The company has not contacted the girls again.* (Rosenberg, 2004:21)

In this anecdote, the young women took several "safe migration" actions such as refusing to relenquish their passports and arranging roundtrip tickets that preserved their ability to take action on their own behalves to protect themselves.[17]

In the past few years, little progress in establishing the impact of "safe migration" strategies has been made. Whether projects engaged in safe migration or job-vetting services have undertaken (or been expected to undertake) any gathering of data beyond isolated anecdotal stories of success is not apparent. Such stories are helpful for illustrative purposes but are not the same as documented results. Significantly, no data appear to exist, for example, regarding to what extent VoTs received migration information prior to being trafficked. This lack of information prevents USAID and others from assessing the impact of safe migration or job-vetting services on TIP prevention or to determine approaches that might be viewed as best practices in terms of preventing TIP.

[17] It would be interesting to know more than this project's anecdote permits about the facts on which the women based their suspicions that the other women they met had been trafficked. Because the grounds for their suspicions are not elaborated and other factors, although suspicious, are not conclusive, it is impossible to assess from the details of this illustration whether the young women avoided a trafficking danger or something less sinister. In any event, they remained safe. It also is unclear from this whether the womens' experience led to the company being reported, investigated, and prosecuted or what became of the other women.

A substantial number of anti-TIP, migration, and labor programs are sponsored by various governments in countries of origin and destination. Within that combined effort, it should be possible to improve the collection and analysis of data about the factors and circumstances, apart from the criminal intervention of a trafficker, that differentiate an individual who migrates successfully, for example, from one who is trafficked,.

Recognizing the limits of various steps in TIP prevention in order to avoid a false sense of security on the part of a potential VoTs is important. For example, while an inability to secure an employment contract prior to travel is one signal that something suspicious may be afoot, the opposite is not necessarily true. A signed employment contract does not protect against being trafficked; and a trafficker who, by definition, will resort to deception or coercion to achieve his or her criminal objective would not hesitate to provide a document purporting to be an employment contract to the targeted individual.

Additionally, confiscating a passport is a prevalent means of exerting control over a VoT. Safe migration programs counsel individuals not to give up their passports. While awareness of the potential danger of not keeping control of one's passport is important, it is also necessary to consider how many points during travel or migration at which relenquishing one's passport temporarily is expected and even necessary. Travelers are asked for their passports in all sorts of apparently inoccuous contexts – when checking into a hotel, for example. Whether or not to relenquish the passport becomes a question of the danger of promoting a false sense of security. In the context of well-orchestrated deceptions, possibe corruption (e.g., border and immigration officials or travel service or hotel employees), and/or forced passport confiscation by criminals, counseling individuals on the wisdom of holding onto one's passport seems inadequate to the task of meaningful TIP prevention in real-world settings. Are individuals also counseled on how to respond to what may appear to be regular and accepted requests to provide the passport, but which may (or may not) be part of a trafficking scheme? When, in those circumstances, should suspicion arise? What should the individual do at that point? Safe migration advice is important, but it is also critical to review more thoroughly the sufficiency and applicability of such advice in the context of the realities of how VoTs are trafficked.

In addition to the range of steps that individuals are encouraged to take to avoid TIP, a second component of an ideal safe migration strategy involves job vetting by a trustworthy NGO to confirm the existence and safety of a job offer. It appears that job vetting is a promising, albeit underutilized, method of prevention assistance to individuals in countries of origin. Since job vetting requires inquiry into employment in various countries of destination, this is a labor-intensive, time-consuming, and potentially costly approach to prevention. Nevertheless, it is worth examining whether cooperative partnerships between NGOs in countries of origin and those in countries of destination can develop in order to vet jobs in destination countries. Consideration could also be given to whether job vetting is a prevention approach for which government-NGO partnerships could be developed.

Demand Reduction

Prevention focusing on demand seeks to reduce TIP by addressing demand for commercial sex as well as exploitable labor in sectors such as agriculture and construction. These methods seek to change attitudes and behavior by those who create the demand: e.g., customers, employers, end-users, purchasers, and clients.

Comprehensive TIP prevention strategies should include a component that addresses demand.[18] A succinct statement of the strategic rationale for countering demand-side factors is found in "U.S. Government Efforts to Fight Demand Fueling Human Trafficking":

> *While no precise definiton of demand for human trafficking exists, for the purposes of this fact sheet, demand can take two forms: 1) that of the trafficker or "wholesaler" whose greed motivates the victimization of vulnerable individuals; and 2) that of the consumer whose demand determines profitablilty. Market demand for commercial sex acts and cheap labor create a profit-incentive for traffickers to entrap more victims, fueling the growth of trafficking in persons.* (U.S. Department of State, 2008)

To date, demand-based strategies have targeted men in the general population. As well, a number of intergovernmental organizations – the UN, OSCE, and NATO – for example, have enacted standards to regulate the actions of military and peacekeeping personnel. Related efforts focusing on peacekeeping forces have been undertaken in Bosnia and Kosovo. In particular, training and awareness campaigns have been initiated (see e.g., United Nations, 2004).

One multi-country project focusing on promoting legislative reform and related activities to address demand for prostitution was identified. No E&E project specifically addressing demand for labor trafficking directly was identified.

The U.S. Department of State (G/TIP) is funding an awareness and advocacy project implemented by the European Women's Lobby and the Coalition against Trafficking in Women (CATW) that seeks to prevent sex trafficking by reducing demand for prostitution. The project utilizes a variety of measures, including awareness campaigns and advocating for changes in laws to criminalize the buyer and decriminalize the seller of sex.[19]

While no authoritative data on the effectiveness of demand reduction strategies in countries of the E&E region yet exist, a study of men in Kosovo who had used the services of a prostitute within the preceding 12 months found that most were aware of the trafficking problem (Prism, 2007: 67). Thus, their awareness of trafficking (or that the women might have been trafficked) did not necessarily translate into behavioral changes vis-à-vis prostitution. On the other hand, one report observed fewer trafficking cases in Bosnia and Herzegovina and attributed this to reduced demand:

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[18] In 2003, the *Prosecutorial Remedies and Other Tools to End the Exploitation of Children Today Act* (PROTECT) and the *Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act* strengthened U.S. law that addressed the demand side of sex trafficking and other forms of sexual exploitation. The 2005 *Trafficking Victims Protection Reauthorization Act* also contains provisions directed at the demand side of labor trafficking, forced labor, and child labor.

In addition, Article 9 (5) of the Palermo Protocol obligates countries to discourage demand as one of their prevention tools:

State Parties shall adopt or strengthen legislative and other measures, such as educational, social or cultural measures, including through bilateral and multilateral cooperation, to discourage the demand that fosters exploitation of persons, especially women and children, that leads to trafficking.

[19] The scope of this project's work to achieve demand-side legal and social changes includes: Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kosovo, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Russia, and Serbia.

> *The peacekeepers who are still based in BiH enjoy much less freedom of movement and are not able to visit bars and other places known for prostitution. Very few cases have been identified of women being trafficked from the Eastern European countries (Moldova, Romania, Bulgaria and Ukraine) which accounted for most of the victims in the past. There are also almost no cases of new arrivals from those countries: the women who were identified recently arrived in BiH many years ago (at least five years ago) and stayed in different bars in BiH or in other countries of the region, all this time working in prostitution.*
> (GAATW, 2007:69)

While demand-based prevention methods are important as part of a comprehensive strategy, in order to recognize which methods are effective it is important to untangle the mix of variables that can be at play.[20] In this case, for example, demand reduction strategies aimed at military and peace keeping forces may be different from those aimed at the general population (i.e., the amount of "free" time of the men is limited, specific locations can be placed on off-limits lists and under the watchful eye of military police).

In short, there are no in-depth objective studies in the region that can inform future programming aimed at reducing demand by helping to determine what works, what does not, and why. Going forward, conducting such a review of the effectiveness of particular demand approaches will be valuable.

Protection as Prevention

The return of a trafficked individual to his or her country of origin potentially places him or her at risk of being re-trafficked. VoTs often return to an environment that has remained unchanged, if not worsened. The experience of being trafficked will often exacerbate issues that existed previously, including some that may have contributed to being trafficked in the first place. Additionally, returning VoTs commonly face new issues of stigma and discrimination in their home communities and even by their families.

Recent research documents the challenges of VoTs who have returned home to find that life remains difficult and the earlier risks continue:

> *I had many episodes when I wanted to drop everything and go back to the streets where I would try to make money for myself. I just had moments like this when I felt that that life was too easy. This thing on the street was in my blood. I was so used to it. . . . . When I was at home with my parents, we did not have enough to eat and I used to look out on the street and think at the choices that I had. And the street looked like a way to make money.*
> (Surtees, 2007)

Providing a safety net of support for returning victims acts as a means of preventing re-trafficking. IOM in Ukraine and the TACT program in Albania provide services to returning trafficked children, potential victims, and their families, with the objective of preventing both trafficking and re-trafficking. In Moldova, the USAID project assists vulnerable youth from orphanages and boarding schools by

[20] As a general matter, one must be cautious about inferring too much about causation based upon observations about apparent changes in TIP levels or patterns. In the E&E, variables such as new membership in the EU and the Schengen agreement, for example, may have an impact on TIP routes and patterns in ways that are not yet understood. Also, to determine whether TIP has declined overall in a community or country, it is necessary to ascertain whether transnational trafficking involving foreign women may have been offset by increases in internal trafficking.

providing life-skills, job and employment training, as well as health services, counseling, and tangible work experiences (Winrock, 2007).

Projects should endeavor to measure the long-term incidence of possible re-trafficking among their beneficiaries. If appropriate and properly done, VoTs who had been beneficiaries of any service programs (related to trafficking or not) should be asked for their perspective on the relationship between their receiving those services and their being trafficked.[21] It is extremely difficult to gauge the prevention impact of the provision of services to VoTs without gathering this new data. Most important, however, the difficulties of documenting the prevention characteristics of protection programs should in no way reduce the ample need and justification for the provision of these services.

Criminal Enforcement as Prevention

Although USAID has funded some law enforcement-related projects, they are the exception more than the rule. Other parts of the United States Government such as the Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs (INL) and the Department of Justice's Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development, Assistance, and Training (OPDAT) support or implement various programs in the region.

Arguably, deterrence, or the crippling of criminal networks through conviction, confiscation of assets, and crime prevention techniques could be a valuable prevention component. Prosecutions are up in a number of countries in the region. However, there is no evidence that these activities have reached a threshold level that would produce a deterrence effect.

[21] Previous USAID-sponsored research indicates that VoTs appreciate that their perspectives and opinions were sought (Surtees, 2007:22).

Analysis & Conclusions

The project reports and other related material reviewed for this report demonstrate that prevention projects in the region are touching many lives in positive ways. Nevertheless, despite the worthiness of such work, not all desirable outcomes (e.g., increased awareness, stronger job application skills, and enhanced self-esteem and empowerment) yield – or are yet being shown to yield – tangible results in terms of prevention of TIP.

The key challenge for improving prevention efforts is two-fold: 1) insufficient data and analysis on the root causes, contributing factors, vulnerabilities, and risks that may lead to trafficking in persons in its diverse manifestations for different profiles of potential victims; and 2) insufficient data and analysis on the link between prevention of trafficking in concrete ways and USAID's TIP prevention programming. By addressing these shortcomings, the effectiveness of prevention initiatives can improve; by not attending to these concerns, the effectiveness of prevention efforts will be slowed dramatically.

The remainder of this report discusses these challenges and identifies a number of recommendations for good practices that USAID and its implementing partners should consider, to the extent that they are not already, as possible avenues to improve the design and implementation of future prevention projects.

Understanding the Complexity of Underlying Factors

As indicated in earlier sections of this report, prevention work is justified, and needed, because it addresses one or more of the factors that contribute to TIP. Prevention interventions are intended to address these underlying factors or how an individual experiences and reacts to these factors in ways that pre-empt and reduce the incidence of TIP.

This mission is at least as difficult as implementing an effective criminal justice or victim assistance response. The context of risk and vulnerability in which TIP flourishes – and that prevention work seeks to alter – is extremely complicated. The breadth, pervasiveness, and in many cases intransigience of factors contributing to the existence of TIP present a serious test for all prevention activities.

The design and implementation of TIP prevention initiatives rarely account for this complexity. Instead, a relatively short list of core "root causes"[22] such as "poverty," "lack of awareness," "low education," and "demand" are routinely emphasized. The concern for those designing and implementing prevention efforts is that any "short list" of potential factors also constitutes a severely truncated list, one that risks oversimplifying the span and intracacies of factors potentially at work.[23] The degree of potential oversimplification is highlighted by stitching together a more expanded list of factors that have, at one time or another, been pointed to as causing or contributing to TIP:

[22] "This term 'root causes' has become a buzz word in various anti-trafficking circles and yet there have been few attempts to define what is meant by this term or how it can be conceptualized and researched" (De Sas Kropiwnicki 2007:19).

[23] Several research analysts have commented on the superficial nature of most discussions of root causes. For example: "Less sophisticated analyses tend to highlight the issue of poverty, which is seen to propel women into accepting dubious offers of employment. Even at the level of the supply, this oversimplifies the reality" (Kelly, 2002); "Academics and policymakers must move beyond 'poverty' and 'lack of education' to recognize the subtleties of the challenges and frustrations confronting people living in the less developed parts of our rapidly developing world" (Rende Taylor, 2005).

- Globalization (especially the opening of previously closed borders, increasing ease of transborder transportation);
- Lack of political will to address TIP;
- Conflict and civil instability, strife, or transition;
- Displacement and dislocation (man-made and natural);
- Immigration policy (both restrictive and open migration policies);
- Family violence, both physical and psychological;
- Family instability or disintegration;
- Poverty, financial distress, lack of economic opportunity;
- Economic disparity vis-à-vis countries to which migration is possible;
- Belonging to a group marginalized by ethnicity or gender, or a lack of citizenship eligibility or birth registration;
- Lack of social safety net;
- Lack of information needed to protect oneself against TIP;
- Growth of women as sole supporters of families;
- Patriarchal attitudes and institutions;
- Demand for cheap and exploitable laborers in service, agriculture, construction, and other business and industry sectors;
- Corruption;
- High profits for traffickers (greed of criminals);
- Low risk of prosecution or conviction of traffickers; and
- Weak rule of law and government institutions.

This list is itself illustrative and partial, but it serves to suggest the sweep of factors that a comprehensive and integrated prevention strategy must consider and potentially confront for each country (and across regions).

Particularly daunting for the prospects of prevention success is that no single factor "causes" TIP.[24] TIP is the product of a multiplicity of factors that combine in different ways that are specific to the context of each country, community, family, and individual (Surtees, 2005:13; Dottridge, 2007:1; La Strada International, 2008:44).

The many social, political, and cultural factors implicated produce a number of other societal ills – not only TIP – and are often found intertwined with others. Poverty can be related to low levels of educational attainment, discrimination, obstacles to accessing credit, exploitation, and violence. Societies that have faced recent conflict often have weakened institutions and rule of law as well as pervasive corruption. Issues involving demand and globalization are intertwined (for both sex trafficking and labor trafficking). Contemplating these entanglements of factors serves as a reminder that TIP prevention does not occur in a vacuum. Ultimately, it entails consideration of how to address societal factors that contribute to or facilitate TIP but are themselves "bigger" than TIP. The intersection of factors also means that there can be no single path to prevention, and an overall prevention strategy that addresses an entangled mix of factors in a comprehensive and coherent way must be constructed.

On the other hand, the role of the individual at important junctures – for example, when making a decision to migrate or to trust an untrustworthy acquiantance or relative – along an arc of behaviors and decisions that potentially lead to TIP is not well understood, either. The subjective nature of individual decision making adds another layer of complexity to understanding what leads to cases of

[24] The only constant in all cases of TIP is the necessary intervention of a criminal agent – the trafficker(s).

TIP.[25] But questions concerning what factors are included in an individual's decision, how they are perceived and weighed, and when decisions are made by an individual are all relevent to prevention efforts.[26]

Finally, more needs to be known about what factors work to counter vulnerabilities and risk to TIP. Not all "at-risk" individuals are trafficked. Not all people in similar economic circumstances, for instance, decide to migrate, thereby potentially putting themselves on an intersecting path with traffickers. Some individuals who are aware of trafficking are eventually trafficked and some are not. A portion of those who suffer past violence (of any kind) are trafficked but many are not. The majority of individuals, including children, caught in conflict situations or the aftermath of devastating natural disasters, despite the possibility of heightened risk, avoid being trafficked. Examining more systematically why some individuals from a community or group are eventually trafficked while others in *prima facie* indistinguishable circumstances are not may uncover promising new avenues to counter balance risks and vulnerabilities.[27]

In short, knowledge about the factors that contribute to (and counter) TIP is incomplete and, from the standpoint of the practical needs of developing prevention policy and projects, inadequate. Even as more is learned, untangling intertwined factors to assess how they may contribute to TIP (individually and in combination) will present a steep challenge for designing and implementing effective prevention efforts.

Pervasive Assumptions About Root Causes

The previous subsection describes the complex nature of root causes, contributing factors, vulnerabilities, and risks that are linked to TIP and the knowledge gap that exists about those factors.

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[25] Callender et al., observed: "To complicate matters further, the push and pull factors that contribute to the phenomenon [of trafficking] are highly subjective as individuals weigh the decision to seek employment abroad against their real or perceived benefits of staying within their communities . . . As such, efforts to combat trafficking usually demand a precise knowledge of the factors that influence the decision making processes for a specific target group and how these factors mesh with options available at the local level. This makes the design of any anti-trafficking initiative labor and time intensive and largely specific to each target group." (See also Surtees, 2005 regarding the subjective nature of perceptions about an individual's context and conditions and the desire and decision to migrate.).

[26] Consider two examples of the how the prospects for achieving prevention objectives intersect with the decision-making process. The effectiveness of interventions may be undermined, for example, if programs fail to reach individuals in rural communities before they make their decision to leave their homes and families to migrate. Information obtained after the decision to migrate has been made (e.g., brochures in bus and train waiting areas) is less likely to reverse an individual's commitment to a course of action already set in motion and witnessed by family and friends. It is thus important to consider whether prevention activities are in sync with critical decision points.

As important as understanding the prevention implications of the timing of decisions is understanding who is involved or may influence decisions. While prevention strategies typically are directed toward an individual's decision to migrate, in many societies major economic decisions, such as decisions to migrate to improve economic circumstances (e.g., through remittances), are made on the household level (Brunovskis & Tyldum, 2004) rather than by the individual alone. Accordingly, examination of when and how decisions are made in households would inform development of good programming practices.

[27] A discussion of the challenges of transforming the identification of factors that may counter-balance risks into insights for specific prevention strategies is found in De Sas Kropiwnicki (2007).

Because so little empirical work has been done regarding these factors, many assumptions have emerged to fill the void. Common assumptions about the factors that lead to trafficking contain elements of fact, but they do not account for the full picture of what is necessary to construct more effective prevention plans against TIP.

For example, the assertion that domestic violence is a cause of human trafficking is oft-repeated by project implementers and others in the region and elsewhere. They see a pattern of past family dysfunction for a number of beneficiaries who receive assistance. It seems logical on its face that such a connection would exist. However, the most comprehensive review of assisted victims in Southeastern Europe to date found that more victims of trafficking do not report experiencing family violence and/or a positive family life (Surtees, 2005; Warnath, 2007).[28] This does not mean that no connection between TIP and serious family dysfunction, abuse, or violence exists. Rather, it suggests that we do not yet understand or account fully for the variations and subtleties of family dynamics in our discussions and approaches to TIP prevention.

Other customary working assumptions are prevalent. While many trafficking victims have "low" educational levels, this often turns out to be a level of education similar to others in their home country who were not trafficked (Surtees, 2005).[29] While many VoTs come from economically deprived backgrounds, there are cases of VoTs from families that are economically "well-off" or "average" for their communities (Surtees, 2005). And while lack of information elevates the risk of being trafficked, the large number of individuals who are trafficked multiple times is evidence of the limits of raising awareness in preventing trafficking.

In the absence of sound empirical grounding, working assumptions have been necessary. They have served a purpose by providing the possibility of roughly approximating where to locate prevention activities, at least in the initiation phases of those efforts. However, in general, prevention objectives are not best-served over the long term by largely unexamined or superficial attributions of causes to human trafficking. The danger of allowing unsound or untested assumptions to guide policy and programming decisions is that these assumptions can undermine the likelihood of obtaining meaningful results, compromise the impact of donor investments and ultimately discredit anti-trafficking policies and programs.

Better Evidence About Factors Contributing to Trafficking in Persons

The foregoing discussion reveals a need to more systematically and rigorously examine the role of factors that underlie TIP to support the ability to reduce and ultimately eradicate trafficking. To close the gap in knowledge about factors that facilitate or lead to trafficking, better data and analysis is required.

[28] Nevertheless, a solid case can be made that family violence should be targeted in anti-trafficking prevention programs based upon the potential intersection between family violence and trafficking. Family violence may heighten an individual's vulnerability to being trafficked in three principal ways: 1) by creating an urgent need to seek an escape; 2) by eroding an individual's self-esteem and self-confidence; and 3) in combination with other factors, such as economic crisis, by serving as a tipping point to push an individual into action that leads to being trafficked. But this policy and operational decision must be based upon a judgment concerning the potential intersection for now and not because family violence has not been established empirically as a clear "cause" of individuals being trafficked (Warnath, 2007; Lazaroiu & Alexandru, 2003; Rosenberg, 2004).

[29] And, contrary to common stereotypes about victim profiles, some VoTs held college degrees (Surtees, 2004).

a. There Is a Need for More and Better Data to Determine How Factors Contribute to Trafficking in Persons

Substantial information about TIP already has been collected in the E&E region. Notwithstanding this, the suitability of current data needed to uncover the elements leading to TIP appear limited.

One reason for this limited data is that the informaton is collected predominately from VoTs by NGO service providers during the assistance process. Service providers, however, rarely gather data in the detail necessary to illuminate issues of cause and effect. This is understandable given that the primary mission for most of these organizations is providing care for victims, not conducting in-depth research. Moreover, as a practical matter, few local service providers have the capacity or support of donors to add the more labor intensive detailed inquiries required to serve the objectives of research over and above the data gathered to support their responsibilities of providing care.

Consider several examples based upon common inquiries from case management intake questionnaires: little, if any, information relevent to prevention planning can be discerned by learning that TIP recruitment was arranged by an individual who was classified, based upon undefined or undisclosed criteria, as an "acquaintance." Prevention planning would seek greater detail and disaggregation of the category of acquaintance. Similarly, service providers typically do not ask beneficiaries for specifics about family relations and dynamics beyond seeking a yes/no response to the question of whether the individual had experienced family violence anytime prior to being trafficked. But a yes/no answer, without more information, cannot establish family violence as a "cause" of trafficking. Other data relevant to the question of establishing a causal link, such as the timeframe of that violence in relation to the act of being trafficked, are needed and generally have not been collected.

The data relied upon to infer root causes also may be based upon interview questions posed that reflect prevailing assumptions, thus rendering the data less suitable for testing those same assumptions. Consider, for instance, how the assumptions identified in the previous section may unintentionally be built into interview questionnaires. A questionnaire to construct an individual's case management file may confirm a low education or income level, but it would not place that data in the comparative context of the communities from which the individual originated. Similarly, a questionnaire for case management purposes would be most interested in a history of a dysfunctional or abusive family relationship. But this would miss potential information that could reveal to what extent the opposite may be true: i.e., that strong and supportive family relations can contribute to trafficking by empowering an individual, as a result of that family support, to relish the prospect of embarking out in the world. Or that strong family ties may compel individuals to leave their home communities to support their families by seeking financial opportunities elsewhere.

There are reasons to be cautious about the suitability of current data to determine what leads to incidences of TIP. Most research is based upon the data pool of VoTs who have been identified and receive assistance. Risks arise, however, in assuming too much about what can be known about vulnerability from the data collected only from assisted VoTs. This data pool does not include the larger body of undiscovered VoTs or the many identified VoTs who do not agree to accept assistance. Thus, the data pool of almost all current research is made up of a select subgroup of all victims, which may or may not represent the entire category of VoTs.

Consider how the simple fact of utilizing a data pool of only assisted VoTs may skew our understanding of the causes of trafficking and our sense of what is required for prevention. Research shows that one major reason that some identified VoTs do not accept assistance is that they have good family relations. They either have a family support net that they can return to or, alternatively, they refuse shelter-based

assistance because they have family members to support (Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007). Thus, the experience of these VoTs may diverge from the family portrait of many in the pool of VoTs who accepted assistance. This can distort the comparative percentages of VoTs classified as from "healthy" or "good" families versus dysfunctional or abusive families.

Finally, knowledge of VoTs' backgrounds, and therefore contributing factors to VoTs' trafficking, is largely limited to the beneficiary population primarily served by shelter assistance programs: single young women who have been victims of sex trafficking. The restricted scope of beneficiary groups served leaves gaps in the knowledge base about potential victims who do not conform to the more standardized profile (for example, men, minors/children of different ages, married women, women with children, those who are trafficking into forced labor, begging and other non-sex trafficking scenarios). These gaps represent a large segment of the overall problem of TIP in the region and globally and are underserved by prevention activities.

b. There Is a Need for Better Analysis of How Different Factors Contribute to Trafficking in Persons

Understanding the factors contributing to TIP in ways that will improve prevention requires more than collecting better data. It also requires the application of more sophisticated analysis to that data. TIP studies need to move beyond attributing causal weight to any factor that is simply found to precede instances of TIP; they must help to explain the relative roles and/or interactions of the many preceding factors in ways that can help focus anti-TIP prevention efforts to become more effective.

When more penetrating research and analysis is conducted, interesting insights emerge that suggest the potential of research to help policymakers, donors, and practitioners in practical ways. For example, a study in Romania reviewed how dropping out of school could be a point of vulnerability for young women or girls. Among other things, it found that dropping out of school emerges as a vulnerability factor in different ways for girls living on their own than for girls living with their families. For those living with their families, vulnerability arose more from the desire for independence and self-sufficiency. In contrast, for young women living on their own, material considerations were more central in fueling frustrations that created vulnerability (Centre for Urban and Regional Research et al., excerpt undated). Eliciting these types of more subtle differentiations through better research and analysis leads to the possibility of more tailored and targeted prevention efforts.

Similarly, a USAID assessment in Russia (Somach, 2007) identified a subgroup within the overarching category of "young women" who, it was suggested, were particularly vulnerable to being recruited in TIP schemes based upon the nature of their employment: "Young people, especially young women, working as waitresses in cafes or restaurants – recruiters have a captive audience while they are at work" (Somach, 2007:18).

Targeting At-Risk Groups More Precisely

With a better understanding of the factors that lead to TIP comes the ability to identify categories of groups "at-risk" with great precision. In turn, this permits targeting more effectively prevention activities to individuals within those groups.

a. Prevention Projects Target At-Risk Groups Too Broadly

At present, many projects in the region use broad parameters to identify as "at-risk" groups to be targeted by their prevention activities.[30] This is illustrated in a recent project report narrative by a major international organization conducting a USAID prevention program. It indicates that the project was directed toward the following "target populations":

- Children;
- General population;
- Special populations;
- Non-governmental organizations/private voluntary organizations;
- Populations vulnerable to trafficking;
- Victims of trafficking; and
- Youth (aged 15 to 24).

Identifying at-risk populations with too broad a brush, as is exemplified here, is common. These types of classifications are too generic and sweeping to provide meaningful direction for effective targeting of prevention programming. It is difficult to envision who would not be included within the scope of the cumulatively "targeted" populations of such a prevention effort.

It will be necessary, as a first step toward meaningful targeting, to revisit overarching "at-risk" categories to disaggregate them in ways intended to advance prevention objectives. The process of refining target classifications should be evidence-based and specific to projects undertaken in each country (and ideally each community) in the E&E region.[31]

b. Neglected Groups Need To Be Incorporated into Prevention Strategies

In addition to aiming prevention efforts more precisely within overarching categories of "at-risk" groups, more effective targeting efforts also may expose additional categories that need the attention of prevention projects.

As discussed above, current prevention strategies focus heavily on young women and minimizing or disrupting the threat of sex trafficking. This represents only one slice, however significant, of the trafficking problem. Men, minors of various ages, members of ethnic minorities,[32] among other groups have not been fully included in the design and implementation of prevention programs across the region,

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[30] While it is true that virtually anyone can be "at-risk" of becoming a VoT, there are practicial implications for trying to address the large population pools of such broad categories. Young women and girls are an appropriate category to address because of the general risk to them of being trafficked. However, in larger countries, at least, it may be problematic to consider this group without some further disaggregation as a target category in any useful sense. In the Ukraine, for example, there are over 5 million 12 to 30-year-old women and girls (IHF 2001:36).

[31] The quality of risk assessment in devising target groups for prevention projects is unclear. During a USAID assessment of TIP programs in Russia, for example, Somach (2007) asked project implementers to define who was "at risk" for trafficking in their areas. The report found: "With a few notable exceptions . . . the definitions [of who was "at-risk"] were based primarily on media stories and training information they had received."

[32] IOM Bulgaria, for example, noted the large number of minorities who become VoTs in Bulgaria (IOM, "Project Description: Bulgaria" n.d.). It was reported that 81.8 percent of victims of trafficking for delinquency and begging in 2004 were Roma. For VoTs for sexual exploitation, minorities also comprised a significant share, with 42.6 percent in 2004. Roma made up 33.6 percent of victims of trafficking for sexual exploitation, Turks were 7.4 percent, and Pomaks were 1.6 percent. Surtees (2005:60 fn. 53) provides a review of Roma and Egyptian ethnicity among trafficking victims in Albania.

nor has the range of forms of trafficking received the full attention of prevention efforts across the region. This has begun to change to some degree, but signficant gaps remain.[33]

In addition, prevention efforts currently exclude some populations based upon geography rather than assessments of comparative risks of populations. This shortfall appears, with some exceptions, in the continued inability to reach many residents in rural or minority communities with prevention efforts, such as helpline coverage, economic-based prevention projects, or dissemination of prevention material that is linguistically and culturally appropriate for the specific population in the particular geographic area. Because geographic remoteness does not diminish the risk of being trafficked, prevention efforts viewed as necessary to provide information or financial opportunities to allow individuals to better protect themselves against the dangers of trafficking in one part of a country, for example, are probably also necessary, in some form, in other uncovered parts of the country.

Expanding coverage of prevention projects to include currently underserved groups will place more demands on the projects. To help address this, it would be useful to review opportunities to expand working partnerships with existing national and/or local government and NGO projects in a more integrated and coordinated manner. More integration and coordination of efforts would permit more efficient, effective, and sustainable delivery of prevention efforts. Opportunities to reach across borders to extend useful cooperative efforts should be further examined as well. One example of this cross-border cooperation occurred in several instances when hotlines were extended with toll-free service over a wider geographic area.

Links Between Activities and Outcomes Are Not Established

The previous subsection discusses limits to what is known about the various risk factors that are associated with the likelihood that an individual will be trafficked. Similarly, what is known currently about the relationship between prevention program activities and prevention impact is tenuous. Despite the difficulties of showing prevention results, well-constructed research as well as monitoring and evaluation will go a long way toward providing the signposts needed to make prevention efforts more effective.

Currently little, if any, evidence is available that TIP is abating in the E&E region or around the globe. In this context, the basic, but most important, question arises: "How do we know if our efforts to prevent TIP are working?"

While this question needs to be answered for every project, this is not a question that can (or should) be answered solely within the "four walls" of individual projects. Unfortunately, the structure of individual projects, which is short-term, stand-alone, fragmented and incremental, is not conducive to gauging long-term durable prevention results.[34]

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[33] For example, a USAID assessment conducted in Russia (Somach 2007) identified possible target groups who would not fall within common notions of potential VoTs but who were also vulnerable to being trafficked there. This included certain groups of men over 40, such as sailors traveling internationally at sea and selected groups of women over 40 from certain regions traveling abroad for housekeeping jobs (Somach 2007:18).

[34] The U.S. Government Accountability Office observed that the lack of an overall coordinated strategy capable of bringing together discrete anti-trafficking efforts across and within the departments and agencies of the U.S. Government into a more unified, coherent and comprehensive vision creates the risk of fragmentation that may waste scarce funds and limit program effectiveness (GAO, 2006:21-23). This report supported the importance of overcoming the limitations of piecemeal time-bound efforts to look instead at projects in terms of how each one fits into the larger context of continuing national anti-trafficking strategic objectives. Thus, a longer-term, holistic

As long as activities, data gathering, analysis, and evaluation of activities are organized in the limited way that they are today, the possibility of answering the question of whether we are achieving prevention results will be inhibited. This, in turn, will hinder the prospects of learning enough about our anti-TIP efforts to better equip those efforts to match the nature of the problem and thereby better enable those efforts to serve long-term prevention objectives.

a. Research Is Needed to Strengthen the Links between Prevention Activities and Results

A number of positive changes in attitudes and behaviors of many participants in anti-TIP projects have been described by organizations implementing those projects and others, to a lesser extent. These descriptions, however promising, are nevertheless different from showing prevention results. Demonstrating the effectiveness of prevention programs is difficult and, to date, has remained problematic.

The difficulty of establishing solid links between project activities and prevention results begs the question of whether current activities directed at reducing one, two, or more of the apparent vulnerabilities or risk factors are more than blunt instruments for preventing human trafficking. Many lines of inquiry could help to clarify this connection. For example, research could begin by addressing the following topics:

- How many VoTs in the region were exposed previously to prevention activities? What do they say about their experience regarding the relationship between the prevention activity and their subsequently being trafficked?

- Do graduates of safe migration projects subsequently migrate safely and avoid being ensnared in trafficking?

- What is the level and quality of interventions for the purpose of TIP prevention by border and immigration officials trained to identify trafficking cases at points of entry? How does this compare to prevention interventions at the border by untrained officials? When a potential TIP case was detected, did the prevention efforts extend to launching a pro-active investigation to uncover the other perpetrators involved to shut down the trafficking scheme before other victims were ensnared?

- Similarly, for projects addressing demand reduction, how strong is the empirical relationship between activity directed at prostitution or economic exploitation in labor and the reduction of TIP?

Research that has taken even a cursory look at the connection between specific prevention activities and the likelihood of reducing trafficking in at-risk groups has illuminated the need to bring more rigor to the examination. For example, prevention messages are increasingly incorporated into school curricula or other activities because of the potential vulnerability of children and the apparent efficiency of using schools for education about TIP. This can be an effective prevention approach. However, research conducted in Albania in 2005 found that most trafficked children in that country had little

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perspective is needed that cuts across the work of individual TIP prevention projects to enable each project in the USAID portfolio of prevention projects to be located within a larger strategic picture geographically and over time.

education or had never attended school (Somach and Surtees, 2005). The research also found that although trafficked children were primarily Egyptian and Roma minorities, the children who participated in TIP awareness programs were largely ethnic Albanians.

Similarly, entrepreneurial training programs, despite demonstrable benefits in general, may only be indirectly and tenuously linked to benefiting the primary profiles of at-risk groups identified by prevention projects. Instead, research has found that they appear to benefit categories of women who are older and fall outside current primary age-groups targeted by prevention projects (Somach, 2007; Rosenberg, 2004; Callender et al., 2002-3).

b. Monitoring and Evaluation Is Necessary to Establish Links Between Prevention Activity and Results

Aside from developing a body of research to elicit information about the effectiveness of prevention approaches, a critical need remains to make monitoring and evaluation ("M&E") a core component of prevention projects. In the E&E region, as in other regions around the world, most projects do not include the application of a satisfactory M&E approach.

The value of M&E in the context of TIP projects is widely recognized. M&E is an indispensable tool for aiding decision-making that aims to fundamentally improve future iterations of prevention programs. The lessons learned from solid M&E help future projects to identify and replicate the successful elements of earlier projects and improve upon areas that were identified as less effective. M&E provides critical information to support the achievement of project and policy objectives. It highlights strengths and weakness of project efforts, permits corrections, identifies effectiveness, and informs project replication and sustainability.[35] Ultimately, the benefits of good monitoring and assessments will be tangible. On the other hand, implementing prevention projects without also generating and analyzing sound M&E information about their activities renders them at risk of being haphazard.

Transitioning to widespread application of meaningful M&E presents substantial challenges. M&E needs to be incorporated as part of the project design from the beginning and in many cases, would involve evaluation activities that could extend years beyond a project's life. It can be costly and involve labor-intensive planning and implementation. At the same time, a well-thought out M&E approach should be undertaken in ways that support the efforts of project staff and do not divert them from the core mission of their projects.

The principal challenge for prevention projects, and what has been missing so far for most projects, is the development of: 1) baselines and 2) outcome indicators that are specific, meaningful, and measurable.

Despite the challenge, a pressing need remains to develop credible approaches to establishing baselines. These baselines will provide a foundation for future exercises to identify promising, good, or best practices among projects. The two go hand-in-hand. Donors and others who stress, with good reason, the imperative that projects show signs of progress resulting from the investments made need to also recognize that the capacity to measure such progress depends upon and must be preceded by tangible support for the creation of baselines against which to compare the consequences of actions taken.

Equally necessary for measuring progress is clarifying the fuzziness of the line between output measurements and measures of prevention results for many projects. Currently, measuring the

[35] See Bugnion (2008).

"success" of prevention projects focuses nearly exclusively on describing process and counting outputs (e.g., number of posters printed, number of participants trained). Outputs are useful, especially in assessing whether activities conform to the initial project design for activities to be undertaken. Outputs are not sufficient indicators, however, of a project's value measured in terms of its impact. There is a need to supplement process and output tabulations with a bright-line focus on impact evaluations to illustrate positive and negative results, as well as intended and unintended consequences.

New Strategies Are Needed to Transform Awareness into Prevention

USAID-sponsored TIP awareness projects have grown significantly in reach and breadth in countries of the E&E region since they were first initiated there approximately ten years ago. The high levels of awareness reported in a number of countries are a testament to the success of efforts to disseminate information about TIP.

At the same time, studies have demonstrated that many VoTs were aware of trafficking, because of awareness campaigns, but decided to migrate nevertheless and were subsequently trafficked. All research focused on this issue calls into question the degree to which increased awareness produces changes in decisions or behaviors that reduce TIP when other circumstances (e.g., economic need, violent environment) remain unchanged (see e.g., Brunovskis & Surtees, 2007:117-18). The research suggests that prevention impact may be marginal because knowledge of potential individual risk is either discounted or overridden by other considerations. Many VoTs believed that trafficking could not happen to them, or they decided to take the risk (out of financial desperation or for other reasons). The challenge now is making anti-trafficking messages more effective in achieving prevention. Given the migration context in a number of E&E countries, how to take this transition to a new level of effectiveness is not clear.

A first step is to consider adjusting strategies once extremely high levels of awareness have been achieved in a country. Message saturation is a good initial plan for broad populations unfamiliar with TIP. It is also important to reinforce and renew messages periodically so as not to lose the benefits of earlier efforts. However, USAID and other donors should consider whether at some point it is useful to develop post-saturation awareness strategies. Perhaps after mass outreach achieves and sustains an initial level of saturation across a country, mass outreach should be replaced, to a large degree, in subsequent phases of awareness campaigns, by a strong emphasis on targeting more refined techniques to transform people's attitudes and behaviors. General awareness activities would then be strategically planned (and monitored) to maintain high levels of message penetration in the population.

Another possible approach is to examine whether to combine more productively the expertise of those with substantive anti-trafficking experience with those from marketing and advertising professions who know how to craft and market effective messages. Generally, organizations working on human trafficking have developed awareness messages in-house and "marketed" those messages with little or no expert input in the techniques of identifying and reaching target audiences with messages created, tested, and targeted precisely for them. Advertising and marketing firms possess this specialized expertise. TIP awareness programs should seek to benefit from the experience of other successful awareness and prevention techniques from campaigns involving topics such as domestic violence and HIV/AIDS.[36] An initial inquiry should be made concerning what could be learned from these firms that would be directly

[36] Dottridge (n.d.:50) describes the value of drawing upon lessons learned from those conducting awareness campaigns to reach and influence children in other fields: "Many lessons can be taken from related fields such as advertising, advocacy and public health on how to run awareness campaigns that positively influence children."

applicable to producing more effective awareness prevention campaigns. In exploring how to make prevention more effective, implementing a trial partnership between firms with specialized marketing expertise and both local organizations and service providers would be useful.[37] Input into the crafting of prevention messages should be sought in appropriate ways as well from VoTs.

Tailor the Message to Magnify Its Impact

Many potential audiences exist for TIP awareness messages, and different audiences require messages adapted specificially for them to be most effective. Unfortunately, this is rarely done. Instead, awareness campaigns often look much the same regardless of the specifics of the country or the nature of the trafficking phenomenon therein (Limanowska, 2004:88).

Too often, a failure to differentiate and adapt content appropriately among even such core categories as children and adults has resulted. "On the whole, information campaigns aimed at children have drawn too much upon models used to target adult women" (Dottridge, n.d:50). In such circumstances, chance for success is scant. Minors and children "have a different way of seeing the world and because of this, adults are not always effective in their messages to them" (Surtees, 2006b:488). As a result, "[m]ore attention is needed to how minors see and understand messages and information."

Recent research reveals that to be most effective, anti-trafficking messages to men also need to be adjusted. Men may be resistent to being labeled as "victims" of trafficking, and thus messages using this type of language and content are less likely to resonate with them and elicit the results sought (Surtees, 2008a; 2008b:16-36; 2007:211-15).[38]

A bedrock of many awareness campaigns is to show the horrors of being trafficked. However, it now appears that the more sensationalized the image and frightening the message, the more unlikely that the general population will relate to it, thereby diminishing its potential for preventing TIP. An example of the disconnect between awareness and a sense of identification that could alter behavior occurred in Moldova. There, the film "Lilya-4-ever" was the centerpiece of a major awareness-raising campaign until it was discovered that people did not find similarities between their own experiences and that of the film's central character. Increasingly, scare tactics are considered ineffective as a prevention technique and may have unintended consequences, such as reinforcing stigma against VoTs (see e.g., Rosenberg, 2004:15).[39]

There is a need to precisely determine how different groups take in, process, digest, and act upon messages. A more systematic examination of these issues could pinpoint differences, perhaps to an unanticipated degree, among and within different age categories of children, ethnic minorities, religious groups, social groups, geographic locations, etc., that are not reached effectively using more generic or poorly designed anti-trafficking messages.

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[37] Since marketing firms typically have no in-house expertise in human trafficking, it would be counterproductive to try to utilize message experts unless there is a strong substantive involvement by trafficking experts.

[38] And it can be problematic for women as well to be so identified (Brunovskis & Surtees 2007: 135-147). Indeed, further consideration should be given to whether to use the term "victim," which probably is useful in policy-level discussions to underscore that men and women who have been trafficked are not criminals themselves but may have more limitations than previously realized for prevention.

[39] Awareness raising campaigns should consider when prevention objectives might be served by shifting to more specific messages, such as providing concrete information to help individuals protect themselves.

Research that provides the basis for tailoring messages should include input from the target groups. Messages targeting children, for example, should be tested with that age group before use. Prevention messages (as well as other aspects of prevention programs) can benefit from the input of former VoTs, as well. As a result, appropriate and ethical participation of former VoTs should be sought to elicit their first-hand perspectives in the program design process.

Sustained Employment Placement Is the Key to Economic-based Prevention

Employment programs addressing the absence of economic opportunity are a central part of anti-trafficking prevention work that is in high demand. Several large-scale USAID projects include this element. According to Winrock International, over 200,000 women in Ukraine, for example, have received services ranging from employment training, entrepreneurship courses to build marketable skills, leadership training, and trafficking prevention programming (Winrock, 2004:6). Course offerings are often over-subscribed.[40]

Employment programs typically focus on the supply side: helping women learn the skills needed to be more employable or prepared to start their own businesses. Employment and empowerment programs in the E&E region have had significant success in training and advising tens of thousands of women. Many participants report increases in confidence and self-esteem coupled with a sense of purpose and opportunity within their home communities.

One may conclude that individual participants and the larger community receive many important benefits from employment and empowerment programs; these benefits should be encouraged and supported by policymakers and donors, although it is not yet possible to establish a concrete causal link between these activities and prevention of trafficking.

As has been noted, training and personal development is only a means to an end. The key to improving the prevention impact of such programs is ensuring that, fairly quickly upon the conclusion of the course(s), participants are able to find jobs locally or sustain viable new local businesses that provide economic security for an extended period of time.

In the challenging environment existing in many countries of origin, these initiatives have had as much success as is reasonably possible in assisting graduates of their programs to get jobs. Nevertheless, despite numerous success stories region-wide, the evidence of local long-term employment for participants is scant. No longitudinal data have been gathered systematically to track graduates' continuing residences in a country after participating in a project, much less whether they have been trafficked.[41]

Monitoring job placement results over time is particularly important. Currently, programs tend to sample up to one third of their graduates three and six months after participation to determine whether they are seeking employment abroad. However, projects should be structured so as to gather data at least one year, and preferably longer, after the conclusion of the program in order to determine: 1) what participants' employment situations are; 2) whether or not they are employed locally and what their plans are (e.g., are they looking to go abroad for work or for other reasons?); and 3) to obtain valuable information on how to improve employment and income generation courses to be more helpful to participants in achieving financial security for themselves and their families.

[40] Winrock reports that they had thousands of women on the waiting lists for some of their trainings.
[41] Empowerment programs face similar challenges to document/link cause and effect (even roughly) of project activities to prevention results.

Consideration should be given to increasing the sample size to include as close to all participants as practical and follow up with as many participants as possible (at a level of respondents greater than would be necessary to obtain reliable and useful follow-up data results) at six month intervals after that.

While generating this information may be challenging, it is critical for assessing prevention impact to go beyond statistics regarding initial job placement and for verifying whether employment has been maintained for at least twelve months, if not longer, even in cases where beneficiaries move through a series of job placements. Consequently, projects need to show indicators of sustained prevention success over time: six months, one year, and two years after initial placement.[42]

Individuals signing up for trainings could be requested to indicate a willingness in advance to participate in a follow-up survey about employment during the year subsequent to training in order to help document the success of the project. The pros and cons of making such a request for voluntary participation in the interest of improving a project's prevention efforts should be evaluated, but in the context of projects that are essentially offering courses to the general population of women, this may be useful and appropriate. Indeed, the collection and analysis of data from graduates probably could have been built into several current E&E projects as they are multi-year projects implemented by international organizations with well-established country presences.

Address Demand

Addressing the demand for trafficked individuals is an important component of United States policy and international standards. Campaigns that seek to reduce the demand for commercial sex and the demand for exploitable labor in sectors such as agriculture and construction in which trafficking may exist are intended, through these indirect means, to suppress incidences of TIP.

To date, the effectiveness of techniques aimed at demand reduction have not been analyzed systematically in the E&E region. Such evaluation will be important to provide governments with a better understanding and identification of which methods work and which do not and why.

Identifying the most effective demand reduction methods to reduce TIP would probably require a systematic country-by-country analysis to identify regional trends and patterns in demand for trafficked individuals over time. The importance of evaluating the effectiveness of these methods from a larger, regional perspective is that the prevention of trafficking based upon demand techniques presumes that there will be a reduction in overall trafficking and not simply the relocation of TIP from one place to other locations within the same country or to a different country (a phenomenon sometimes referred to as "push down, pop up").

Prevention in the Context of Gender

Significantly for prevention efforts, gender interacts with a number of the factors that are viewed as contributing to a heightened risk of trafficking in persons.[43] A prevalent perception that has been observed is that "men migrate, but women are trafficked." In other words, a bias that men may have bad migration experiences, but only women are trafficked persists. In any country where this

[42] Realizing sustained economic opportunity is a minimum but not conclusive indicator of possible prevention impact. Note that Winrock International reports that approximately 40 percent of the clients at Women for Women Centers were already employed (Winrock International, 2004:5), so research regarding the prevention impact of participation needs to consider additional variables as well.

perception is a prevailing view, either among government officials or the public in general, it will likely cause a compromising impact on prevention efforts. Therefore, it is important to understand if this type of bias exists in countries of the E&E region, and, if this misperception is found, a strategy should be developed to counteract it.[44]

[43] "[T]he lack of rights afforded to women serves as the primary causative factor at the root of both women's migration and trafficking in women [. . .] By failing to protect and promote women's civil, political, economic and social rights, Governments create situations in which trafficking flourishes" (United Nations, 2000:54).

[44] Trafficking prevention would be strengthened if prevention measures were integrated into each country's gender (as well as economic, education, and social development) strategies and initiatives.

Recommendations [45]

This section summarizes recommendations based upon the findings and analysis contained within the body of the text of this report. They are presented for the consideration and evaluation of those interested in improving the prevention efforts in the E&E region.

1. Donors and TIP prevention program implementers should **strengthen the understanding of underlying contributing factors in order to improve TIP prevention programming**.

a. Analyze what type of data needs to be collected – and how it can be collected across the region – to form the basis of reliable empirical findings about root causes, contributing factors, risks, and vulnerabilities linked to TIP.

b. Ascertain what factors work to counter vulnerabilities and risk of potential victims of TIP. Analyze what differentiates the circumstances of similarly situated individuals, some who are eventually trafficked and some are not.

2. Donors and TIP prevention program implementers should **refine the link between project activities and TIP prevention outcomes**.

a. Gather new data for prevention results assessments.

b. Develop long term frameworks within which individual TIP projects are located to permit determination of prevention results. Strategies should be developed, including post-project evaluation methods, to compensate for existing structural impediments (e.g., short-term, incremental projects) to accomplish this.

c. Incorporate into future TIP projects data collection procedures that will permit evaluation by independent evaluators and researchers at points in time after the completion of the project.

d. Design research projects to answer questions specific to establishing the link between TIP prevention activities and prevention results.

e. Require monitoring and evaluation (M&E) to be an integral component of TIP prevention projects.

f. Develop baselines and outcome indicators that are specific, meaningful, and measurable.

g. Utilize impact evaluations to illustrate positive and negative results, as well as intended and unintended consequences.

h. Fund the budget requirements for projects to implement sound M&E.

i. Develop incentives for TIP prevention project applicants and/or implementers to initiate stronger outcome indicators for their respective projects to supplement and link to output measures.

[45] The recommendations presented in Rosenberg (2004) remain useful and timely. This report incorporates those recommendations and, to the extent that they have not been enacted, renews the call for their implementation.

j. Supplement internal evaluation of TIP prevention projects with external evaluation work. Self-evaluation by project implementers, although useful for project management purposes and for donors as part of a larger evaluation approach, is not a substitute for objective assessments by experienced researchers and evaluators.

3. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should work together to **refine their ability to target prevention programs to at-risk groups**.

a. With more precision, identify and disaggregate groups at risk of being potential victims of TIP.

b. Address all forms of trafficking in persons in implementation of TIP prevention strategies.

c. Identify all populations underserved by TIP prevention projects for each country in the E&E region.

d. Incorporate neglected at-risk groups into TIP prevention strategy development and program design. Strategies and projects should be adapted for these groups to be effective.

e. Extend TIP prevention efforts to reach at-risk populations in rural communities more systematically.

f. Examine opportunities to partner/collaborate with prevention-related projects provided by governments and NGOs, especially to expand ability to reach underserved populations and/or communities with TIP prevention efforts.

4. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **prioritize TIP awareness-raising projects that emphasize prevention.**

a. For projects in countries reporting extremely high levels of TIP awareness (i.e., awareness saturation) among the country's population, examine whether adjustments should be undertaken to improve prevention effectiveness rather than merely continuing the status quo of message saturation.

b. Emphasize TIP awareness projects that employ methods that over time will demonstrate prevention results over information "campaigns" with general messages (with the exception of outreach to areas that still have little prior knowledge of TIP).

c. Avoid sensationalized, alarmist, or frightening awareness messages. Scare tactics about TIP do not appear to resonate with intended recipients of those messages.

d. Examine whether messages with information that provide ways for the individual to protect him/herself from falling victim to TIP lead to better prevention results than general messages.

e. Determine more precisely how different groups take in, process, digest, and act upon messages. Generic messages have dubious prevention value.

f. Magnify the impact of awareness/prevention messages by tailoring them more precisely to more targeted audiences.

g. Test prevention messages for effectiveness with minors of different age-groups. Assume that anti-TIP messages created for adults will not resonate effectively with children.

h. Revisit awareness messages for men and consider whether adjustments are necessary based upon resistance to the label of "victim" for TIP.

i. Consider whether experts in advertising and media message content can contribute to the development of awareness messages and strategies by TIP prevention projects.

j. Examine whether there are lessons to be learned from those experienced with awareness campaigns designed to change behavior or attitudes for issues such as domestic violence or HIV/AIDS.

k. To the extent appropriate and ethical, seek to include participation of former VoTs to elicit their first-hand perspectives in the design of TIP prevention projects.

5. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **tighten the link between employment-based, income-generating, and empowerment prevention activities and long-term prevention results**

a. Monitor job placement for graduates of economic-based courses over time. Continue documenting beyond initial job placement if necessary to evaluate prevention impact associated with sustained local employment. It is only over time (at least one year after the conclusion of the project) that prevention results can be assessed.

b. Examine the effectiveness of achieving TIP prevention arising from skills training and empowerment programs within the context of local employment and economic conditions in each country of the E&E region. Review, for example, the extent to which graduates of these programs from economically suppressed areas ultimately migrate to other countries seeking employment and what happens to graduates who stay but do not find jobs.

c. Conduct further research regarding tailoring the design of income-generating projects to serve TIP prevention objectives most effectively.

6. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **ensure that safe migration projects supported by anti-TIP grants and contracts are tailored specifically to maximize achieving TIP prevention objectives.**

a. Data gathering and analysis of safe migration TIP prevention projects need to be strengthened to identify factors and circumstances of program participants (apart from the criminal intervention of a trafficker) that differentiate an individual who migrates successfully from one who is trafficked. To start, data should be collected from assisted VoTs about whether they participated in safe migration projects prior to being trafficked and why, from their perspective, the content of those projects failed in preventing them from being trafficked.

b. Examine whether cooperative partnerships can be developed between NGOs in countries of origin and those in countries of destination in order to vet jobs in destination countries. Consideration could also be given to whether job vetting is a prevention approach for which government-NGO collaborations could be developed.

7. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **include demand reduction approaches** that demonstrate effective TIP prevention results as part of comprehensive TIP prevention strategy.

a. Address demand reduction as part of comprehensive TIP prevention strategies.

b. Conduct the first analysis of the **effectiveness of demand** as a prevention method for different forms of TIP.

8. Donors and TIP prevention program implementing organizations should **consider TIP prevention impact of gender-based factors**.

a. Determine if gender stereotypes about who is likely to be a TIP victim and preconceptions hamper TIP prevention efforts.

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